

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE,
AGRA
1850-1930

By the Rev.
JOHN PARKER HAYTHORNTHWAITE,
M.A.
(*Principal, 1890 to 1911*)

Revised and Completed by the Rev.
T. D. SULLY, M.A.
(*Vice-Principal*)

With a Foreword by
DR. A. D. LINDSAY
(*Master of Balliol*)



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FOREWORD

I AM glad to write a few words in preface to this history of St. John's College, Agra, for St. John's stands out in my memory among the Christian Colleges of India which our Commission on Christian Higher Education visited in the winter of 1930-31. It has a pervading, triumphant college life which has surmounted some of the obstinate difficulties with which these colleges are confronted. Its staff, Westerner, Indian Christian and Indian non-Christian, are all in active co-operation, planning together for the future of the College. They all have a concern for the problems of Christian education in India. The whole College was an active witness of the Christian life.

This history of the College will show through what changes Christian education in India has passed. The only thing about the future of India of which one can feel quite sure is that it cannot be predicted. What new problems will face Christian colleges we cannot know. That the conditions of the problems are changing rapidly, that the old ways, which were once so successful, will not go on being so, that is already evident. We on our Commission came to the conclusion that if the colleges could adapt themselves to the new conditions and set themselves to serve the Indian Christian Church and through it the new India as they have not done before, the future of the Christian colleges in India might well be even more brilliant than has been the past. The need for all that Christian education may mean is

certainly becoming more, not less, insistent. But no college will be adequate to meet these new demands which has not made it its business to understand the aspirations of the Indian Christian Church, which above all is not so careful to preserve unchanged the spirit of its Christian life that it can easily change the ways of applying that unchanging spirit to changed circumstances. That St. John's, Agra, will be able to respond to this challenge those who know it can be confident.

A. D. LINDSAY

PREFACE

IT is with a sense of profound gratitude that I sit down to write this preface,—gratitude to the Church Missionary Society which called me to serve on the staff of St. John's College ; gratitude to the men under whom and with whom I had the honour of serving ; gratitude to the two who have carried out the task of compiling, writing and revising this history.

Many hands have gone to the building of the life of St. John's College. Of the men alongside of whom I was allowed for nearly twenty years to bear my part, many are still in the College ; many are working in England or elsewhere ; for many the trumpets have already sounded on the other side.

Two have been taken during the past two years. Harry Durrant, who left St. John's to become Bishop of Lahore, died, as he would have wished, at his post. I remember him as the prince of courtesy in a land where the conditions of life and climate do not make things easy for the Englishman. Herbert Mark, one of the closest of many good Indian friends, had made for himself a very special place in our College life. I can well imagine what the break-up of that home at the Lloyd Hostel has meant to the Christian staff and students of St. John's.

Something of the character and work of these two is recorded in these pages ; but most of all they bear the imprint of the life and spirit of the man whose undiscourageable energy remade St. John's, whose own life was so large a part of the history of the

College and who had so nearly completed this record when he died.

John Parker Haythornthwaite was nearing the end of his twenty years' principalship when in 1909 I became a junior member of the staff of St. John's. When he took charge as Principal in 1890 the College was weak and its future uncertain. Under his vigorous and far-seeing leadership it became one of the leading colleges in North India and when he handed the reins to the Rev. H. B. Durrant, his dreams for the new building were already taking shape. St. John's was the great love of his life and he never allowed the interests of his later work in England—he was vicar of King's Langley in Hertfordshire—to weaken his devotion to the College.

He undertook the task of writing its history as a labour of love and spared no effort to the very end in collecting material and putting it into shape. When he died in 1928 he had carried the story down almost to the end of his own principalship. How long it would have remained as he left it it is impossible to say. I had hoped to find time to complete it myself. Had I done so, the name of the Rev. T. D. Sully would have occurred very frequently in its pages, for I had learned to rely upon him and his wise judgment in almost every aspect of the life of the College. It is typical of him that he should have devoted a large portion of his badly-needed furlough to revising the early pages and writing the story of the last thirty years.

Mr. Haythornthwaite had planned the volume on an ampler and more generous scale than has seemed to us to be advisable in days when there is but a small demand for expensive publications, and he had

prefaced it with an interesting essay on political and educational conditions at the time of the founding of the College in 1850 and at the date when he himself left India. The first section of this essay we felt bound to sacrifice for reasons of economy and also because the ground has already been covered in Chapter IV of the report of the recent Commission on Christian Higher Education in India ; the later portion was already out of date at the time of Mr. Haythornthwaite's death. For the most part, however, the early chapters are as they left his pen, though we have found it necessary to exercise a certain amount of compression by the omission of quotations and extracts. Students of the College will regret the omission of a list of graduates. This has now reached such dimensions that to print it would have expanded the volume unduly. It is hoped to prepare a list of all who have passed the Intermediate and Degree examinations since the foundation of the College and to print this as a supplement in India.

To the subscribers, who by their generosity have made this publication possible, I would express my special thanks. Not only have they accepted without protest the delay in the completion of the history, but they have acquiesced in the less ambitious form which the book has taken and have agreed that the balance of their subscriptions shall be made over to the College with a view to defraying the cost of preparing enlarged photographs of the Principals to hang in the College Hall.

That among these the portrait of W. E. S. Holland will be included is to me a matter of peculiar satisfaction, for I had often coveted for St. John's the man who had left so deep a mark in Allahabad,

Calcutta and Alwaye. No one who has read his fascinating circular letters can have been in doubt that St. John's was fortunate indeed in being given the last years in India of a man of his ripe experience and spiritual power. It has been a special joy to see the way in which, under his wise leadership, the staff, whose love and loyalty to the College have been proved over a long course of years, has held together and has triumphantly surmounted the difficulties of these perilous days.

Finally, I must express my gratitude to Miss Doggett and Mr. J. F. Young of the Editorial Department of the Church Missionary Society for generous and ready help and to Miss G. I. Mather, who has most kindly devoted part of her furlough to reading the proofs and seeing the book through the press.

I cannot end more fitly than by making my own the prayer for the College which is used day by day in the Hall :

Almighty God, Who didst put it into the hearts of good men more than half a century ago to found this College for the imparting of sound learning, the building of character, and the spread of spiritual truth and knowledge of Thee, bless our College. May love, unity, and brotherhood be learnt here. May industry, uprightness, and courage grow here. And from this place send forth continually a stream of men who shall serve Thee manfully in Thy world.
Amen.

Machrihanish,
August 18, 1932

ARTHUR W. DAVIES

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CHAPTER I

The Place

THE founding of the Agra Mission in 1812, of the Agra Church Missionary Association in 1840, and of St. John's College in 1850, are all closely connected, and present an interesting study of spiritual heredity, as they illustrate the magnetic and far-reaching influence of Christian personality, and its power of reproduction in Christian activities generation after generation. The spiritual grandfather of the Evangelical Revival Movement in the Anglican Church, which led to the founding of the Church Missionary Society in 1799, was undoubtedly the Rev. Charles Simeon, Fellow of King's College and Vicar of Holy Trinity, Cambridge. He was a veritable apostle both in his deep personal devotion to our Lord Jesus Christ and in his burning zeal for an active missionary enterprise in India at a time when the Church at home was but dimly conscious of its missionary obligations. At Cambridge, Charles Simeon had a unique opportunity of influencing the young men of the University, and of inspiring them with his own missionary spirit. As at that time the East India Company was strongly opposed to direct missionary work in North India, Charles Simeon encouraged his "spiritual sons" to seek an opportunity of fulfilling their hearts' desires by becoming Chaplains of the East India Company; and in this way,

until the embargo was removed in 1813, there was a regular Apostolic Succession of " pious Chaplains " as they were derisively termed. Of these men, who were remarkable for intellectual attainment and spiritual gifts, two were closely connected with the founding of the Agra Mission in 1812, and the son of a third was mainly responsible for the foundation of St. John's College in 1850.

(a) *The Rev. Henry Martyn* reached India in 1806 and was posted as Chaplain to Calcutta, Dinapore, and Cawnpore ; but he found the work difficult and uncongenial. After five years of incessant toil his health began to fail, and he determined to give up his chaplaincy and to devote his remaining strength to direct missionary work. His love for Moslems and his desire to obtain a fuller knowledge of Arabic led him to think of Persia as a desirable sphere for the preaching of the Gospel. He left India in 1811, discouraged yet not despairing, as we learn from his diary : " I have hitherto lived to little purpose, like a clod upon the earth. *Now let me burn out for God.*" He found his way into Persia, where he gave himself to preaching, and to the translation of the New Testament into Arabic. Then, exhausted by his arduous labours, he set out on the long, overland journey home ; and at Tokat, in Armenia, he died alone on October 16, 1812, at the early age of thirty-two years.

So far as we know, Henry Martyn never visited Agra, and yet the Agra Mission in its early days was greatly indebted to him through the devoted and fruitful work of his " spiritual son " Sheikh Salih, the one convert from Islam whom Henry Martyn had

been able to win for Christ during his brief but intense life in India. Sheikh Salih, a Moslem of mature years, had heard Martyn preach at Cawnpore, and was led to declare himself a Christian. He was baptized by the Rev. D. Brown in Calcutta in 1811, given the name of Abdul Masih and appointed to Agra, where he became greatly loved and honoured for his faithful work. In 1826 he was ordained to the ministry of the Anglican Church by Bishop Heber, and thus the first convert from Islam in India became the first Indian Christian to receive Anglican ordination. The compound in which St. John's Church, Agra, now stands still bears the name of *Abdul Masih ka Katra*. Nor is the name of Abdul Masih forgotten in the head-quarters of the Church Missionary Society in London, where his portrait hangs in the main Committee Room.

(b) *The Rev. Daniel Corrie*, another of these great Evangelical Chaplains and later to become Bishop of Madras, arrived in Calcutta a few months later than Henry Martyn, and it was he who took Abdul Masih with him to Agra and, with his assistance, founded the Agra Mission in the year 1812. Chaplain Corrie was full of missionary zeal, but without Martyn's linguistic gifts ; and the co-operation and influence of Abdul Masih in this way proved invaluable.

In the following year, William Wilberforce and his friends in Parliament at last succeeded in getting certain "pious clauses," as they were called, inserted in the Charter of the East India Company, which had to be renewed every twenty years. All restrictions against direct preaching of the Gospel being thus removed, Chaplain Corrie proceeded to consolidate

the work by building a chapel in the heart of the city, of which Abdul Masih was the first pastor. This chapel was known for many years as Bishop Corrie's Chapel, until it was superseded in 1855 by the Gothic structure, further enlarged in 1900, which has long been known as St. John's Church, or the Katra Church. It is to-day the centre of a large and important Hindustani congregation.

(c) *The Rev. Thomas Thomason*, the third of these Evangelical Chaplains, reached India much later than either Martyn or Corrie, and at a more mature age. His connection with the Agra Mission is chiefly through the remarkable personality of his son, the Hon. James Thomason, who from 1843 to 1853 was the first Lieutenant-Governor of the newly-formed North-West Provinces, of which Agra was then the capital. Chaplain Thomason had a brilliant University career and had been Fellow and Tutor of Queens' College, Cambridge. For twelve years he was curate to Charles Simeon and enjoyed his most intimate friendship. Most of his service in India was as incumbent of the Old Church, Calcutta, which became a great centre of spiritual life and missionary activities.

His son, James Thomason, was the godson of Charles Simeon, and during his early school-days he made his home during holidays at the vicarage of Holy Trinity, Cambridge, where he came under the loving influence of his guardian and godfather and became deeply imbued with Simeon's strong Christian character and missionary spirit. After a distinguished career at Haileybury College, James Thomason reached India in 1822, and for some time lived with his parents in Calcutta. As a Civil Servant

of the Bengal Establishment he quickly rose to high position. In 1830 he was Secretary to the Bengal Government, a position which he relinquished at his own request in 1832, in order to acquire experience as a district officer. He was posted to Azamgarh, where he achieved a great reputation as a Settlement Officer, and developed his genius for administration. In 1837 he was appointed Secretary to the North-West Provinces Government; and it was during this Secretaryship that, in 1840, he promoted the formation of the Agra C.M.S. Association, whereby the Agra Mission was greatly strengthened. Through his religious personality and loving character the many civil and military officials, with whom he came into close contact, were greatly influenced.

In 1849, nineteen of his best civilian officers were given up ungrudgingly to the Punjab for the organization of that Province, which was then incorporated into British India. There went forth a band of men so imbued with his spirit, and so inspired by his example as a Christian administrator, that they not only introduced his official methods with the happiest possible political results, but they carried with them his Christian character and passion for evangelization, and became the pioneer-founders of Christian missions wherever they went.

THE SECUNDRA ORPHANAGE

In 1837, owing to an unusually severe famine, the Agra Mission found itself *in loco parentis* to a large number of orphan children. Mr. Thomason and other officials took a great interest in the welfare of these children, and through their influence various old

historic buildings lying unoccupied at Secundra, five miles away, were made over to the Agra Church Missionary Association for the purpose of an orphanage. A Christian village soon arose and a church was built, towards the furnishing of which Mr. Thomason, then Lieutenant-Governor, presented a peal of four bells, a carved Communion Table, and Communion Plate. The orphans received a sound elementary education, and were taught various useful handicrafts, of which one was printing. In time the Secundra Printing Press acquired a reputation of its own for good work, and grew to large proportions under Government patronage. By 1850 it had become not only self-supporting, but a source of financial strength, and this assisted further extensions of the work of the Agra Mission.

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, AGRA

Thus, by 1850, the Agra Mission had two centres. In Agra itself there was a congregation of about 200 Christians who still worshipped in Bishop Corrie's Chapel in the Katra; and in the district there were considerable out-stations with vernacular schools. In Secundra there was a congregation of over 400, including a few Europeans and Anglo-Indians¹ employed in the Press. There was already in Agra one educational institution, known at that time as the Government College, which had been opened in 1823 in accordance with a bequest made to the East India Company in 1818 by Pandit Ganga Dhar Shastri. The Mission also had for some time been conducting

a school in the Katra, which was mainly attended by Christians. But the local C.M.S. Committee now began to conceive the idea that it was highly desirable that in a large centre of population like Agra, which was also a seat of Government, there should be a mission college for the higher education of the sons of Indian officials in Government service, and of the influential classes of Indian society generally. It should be remembered that at this time colleges for higher education were but few in number, and of mission schools and colleges of high grade the only ones in North India were Duff's College in Calcutta, Carey's College at Serampore, and Jai Narain's in Benares. It was, therefore, something of an educational experiment that was about to be made in Agra when the Committee of the Agra C.M.S. Association, composed almost entirely of British civil and military officials under the direct leadership of Mr. Thomason, determined to establish a Christian college of the highest grade. It was earnestly expected that a liberal education through the medium of Christian culture and the English language, in harmony with the usual curricula of Western Universities, and given in a distinctly Christian atmosphere, would produce a new and higher moral type of character. It was also expected that in time this new college would become the centre of a strong educational influence which would do much to purify public morals, and raise the general moral tone of the educated classes throughout the Province. The project was warmly taken up by the local Committee and generous donations were readily given. A sum of Rs.50,000 was immediately raised, whereupon the London Committee of the Church Missionary

Society responded with a similar amount from the C.M.S. Jubilee Fund of 1849.

Among the subscribers in Agra were many well-known and honoured names. Mr. Thomason, who had become Lieutenant-Governor in 1843, was the chief inspirer of the scheme and a generous subscriber; and subsequently he endowed the College with an English Literature Scholarship Fund which still bears his honourable name. Other subscribers were: The Hon. John Russell Colvin, Sir Henry Lawrence, Colonel Wheeler, Colonel Boileau, Major Morrieson (Resident of Bharatpur), Major Kittoe, R.E. (the architect); Dr. John Murray (Civil Surgeon), the Hon. R. Drummond (Commissioner), Messrs. Thornhill (Inspector of Prisons), Thornton (Secretary to Government), Reid (Inspector of Government Schools), William Muir (later Sir William, but at that time Private Secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor), Shakespeare (Collector of Agra), Grant, Morland, Alexander, Harrington, Unwin, Hammond, Dashwood, Raikes, Begbie, Mosely Smith, Reade, and many others. Nor were subscriptions confined to British members of the various Government services, as there is a special mention of a donation of Rs.750, which was given by a Hindu gentleman of Allahabad. A substantial grant was also given from the funds of the flourishing Printing Press of Secundra, which subsequently made an annual grant of Rs.1,500 for some years after the College was in being. This debt to Secundra the College, during the past seventy-five years, has endeavoured to repay by providing facilities for the higher education of such Christian boys as, in the opinion of the Superintendent, were likely to benefit by them.

A fine site for the new College and for the Principal's residence was provided by the Government on a waste piece of ground in the heart of the city, adjacent to the old historic *Abdul Masih ka Katra*. The work of building was begun early in 1850, and both College and House were ready for occupation by the end of 1852. The College was eventually opened on December 16, which date thus became Commemoration Day for the future.

The Agra C.M.S. Association of 1840 was the fruitful centre from which sprang not only St. John's College but most of the now flourishing C.M.S. Missions in the Punjab and in the North-West Frontier Province. Their foundation was not due to the initiative of a missionary society, nor to any special sense of missionary obligation on the part of the home Church, but to the zeal, sacrifice, and vision of an influential body of Christian officials, civil and military, who were great Empire-builders. These statesmanlike officials had begun to "think imperially," and they felt that the foundation of the great Indian Empire of the future would not be well and truly laid unless resting upon the bed-rock of Christian faith and Christian principle. And this was chiefly due, as has been seen, to the inspiring example and far-reaching influence of a great administrator who was also a great Christian, the Hon. James Thomason. Sir Richard Temple, in his *Men and Events of My Time*, has written: "He was one of the most successful Englishmen that have ever held sway in India . . . his life was a pattern of how a Christian Governor ought to live."

CHAPTER II

The Man

IT is well known, according to English educational experience, that the success of an educational foundation largely depends upon the personality of the Principal. Thus, Wykeham of Winchester, Arnold of Rugby, and Thring of Uppingham were each largely responsible for laying the foundation of those traditions which gave to each of these Public Schools its own distinctive character, and which subsequent headmasters have endeavoured to maintain.

In this respect it will be readily granted that St. John's College, Agra, was singularly fortunate in the personnel of its early staff, and more especially in the personality of its first Principal. The Committee of the Church Missionary Society were well aware of their grave responsibility in making these first appointments, but, happily, two gifted young clergymen were available. The Rev. Thomas Valpy French, a distinguished Fellow of University College, Oxford, was accepted for the Principalship on April 16, 1850, and the Rev. Edward Craig Stuart, a distinguished graduate of Dublin University, was accepted a month later and appointed to the Vice-Principalship. The Committee's wisdom in making these appointments seems to have been fully justified by the subsequent careers of these two gifted men. Each was raised to

the episcopate in a pioneer capacity in the same year, 1877, French as the first Bishop of Lahore, and Stuart as the second Bishop of Waiapu, New Zealand; and each, after a distinguished episcopal career, resigned his see in order to return to the mission field as a simple evangelist to Moslem races,—French to find a lonely grave at Muscat in Arabia in 1891, and Stuart, after seventeen years of fruitful service in Isfahan in Persia, to be laid to rest in a ripe old age in England, in 1911. These careers are an eloquent testimony to their sterling abilities, and to the splendid keenness of their missionary spirit.

At the C.M.S. Dismissal Meeting, August 20, 1850, the two missionaries were given their official instructions. The following clauses are worthy of reproduction in order to reveal the Society's standpoint in those days :

You, brothers French and Stuart, have been appointed to Agra, which is now to become the seat of Government for a New Empire, the North-West Provinces of India, and the department of labour assigned to you is the foundation and direction of an educational institution of such a kind as to win the confidence of the upper classes. . . .

The Committee cannot attempt to give you specific directions for your guidance. They can only lay down a few general principles. They think it expedient that the number of students should not be too large; that probably the limit may be fixed between 100 and 200, in order that the mind and influence of the missionaries may pervade the whole system. . . .

The Committee think it essential that you should both study Sanscrit, and acquire the native language so as to take your position as scholars in native literature as well as European. The Committee have no specific nor detailed regulations to give you, nor is there any one existing institution to which they can

point you as a model. They wish you, therefore, brother French, to go with a mind at full liberty to observe and judge for yourself in what way our principles may be carried out. . . .

Brethren, the Committee take leave of you with sincere affectionate sympathy. They cheerfully, confidently, and prayerfully commend you to the Grace of God.

These instructions reveal an admirable insight into the necessary conditions, if the work of a mission college is to be successful in its objects :

1. The Principal is given complete liberty of initiative and action.
2. The importance of a knowledge of native languages is stressed, although the wisdom of specialization in Sanscrit would probably be doubted in these days as being impracticable.
3. The number of students is limited in order that the personal influence of the missionary may not be weakened owing to pressure of other duties.

The two brethren left England in a sailing vessel named the *Queen* on September 11, 1850, and did not reach Calcutta until January 2, 1851, having been nearly four months on board without touching land. During the voyage there were daily services in the "cuddy," which were well attended, and both French and Stuart were hard at work studying the Hindustani language. Upon their arrival in Calcutta they received a warm welcome at the Old Church Mission House. During their stay in Calcutta they were eager to acquire some knowledge of the conditions under which they were to work, and they visited Bishop's College and Dr. Duff's College, then known as the Scotch Assembly's College, the schools at

Aguapara, and other educational centres. Proceeding up-country, they visited every high-class mission school of any standing, whether British or American. On February 13, 1851, they were aroused from sleep at 3.30 a.m. in order to pay the toll over the bridge-of-boats across the Jumna, and soon found themselves "within the splendid Fort of Agra." They were driven to Government House, where they received a warm welcome from the Lieutenant-Governor and Mrs. W. Muir. Here they spent some time until a bungalow was found in Civil Lines as a temporary residence.

This History would be incomplete and the character of St. John's College would be but imperfectly understood, if we did not endeavour to appreciate the *greatness* of the personality of its first Principal, whose influence is felt in Agra to this day. He was Principal for only eight years, and he left at the age of thirty-two; but the impression made upon the College has been strong and lasting. Dr. Eugene Stock, in his book *The Heroic Bishop*, rightly claims that :

Among the many distinguished men who have been sent forth by the Church of England as bishops into the mission field, very few can be compared for ripe scholarship, large-heartedness, and breadth of view, entire sacrifice of self and length of service, with Thomas Valpy French.

(1) *He was a pioneer-founder of Missions.* He founded St. John's College in 1850, but his career was then only beginning. He founded the Derajat Mission among frontier tribes in 1861, and St. John's Divinity College, Lahore, in 1868. He was first

Bishop of Lahore, from 1877 to 1888 ; and in 1890, at the age of sixty-five, he endeavoured to found a Moslem Mission at Muscat in Arabia. "There was ever," writes Sir William Muir, "a strong though latent spice of romance in his soul leading him, like St. Paul, to yearn after the further field."

(2) *He was a great linguist.* In the Punjab he was known as the *Haft zabān Padri*, i.e. the "seven-tongued preacher," of Lahore. When first he arrived in Agra he felt very keenly his inability to converse in the vernacular. But this period of restraint cannot have lasted very long. During the hot weather of his first summer he wrote :

I generally manage daily ten hours' work and after that am fit for nothing more. Most earnest are my longings after a perfect knowledge of the language, but, like everybody else, now that there is no gift of tongues I must acquire it by patient labour.

As the reward of his own strenuous application, he was able to preach his first sermon in Urdu in the month of August, i.e. within six months of his arrival in Agra. He was unexpectedly called upon to take the place of an experienced German missionary. A lady who was present remarked : "He was better understood than the older missionaries."

(3) *He was a fervent and able preacher.* His reputation as a scholarly preacher in the vernacular was soon established, but in Agra there was another sphere of work, which may have been unconsciously a preparation for the work of the future Bishop of Lahore, that of preaching from time to time to the European civilian population. Mr. Thomason, in his early years in Agra after it became a seat of Government, had built a very beautiful church in

Early English style, with a fine tapering spire, that of St. Paul's, Civil Lines. This church was the centre of a large and influential congregation, and Mr. French was invited to share in the preaching in return for the Civil Chaplain's undertaking to conduct courses of Biblical instruction in the College. Since 1894 the Principal of the College or of the school has been licensed as Honorary Civil Chaplain to this church, and so the historic link with St. Paul's Church has been continued. Mr. French, writing of the congregation in his day, said :

It is a very important one. Except in fashionable places in England, you would scarcely meet anywhere with such an assemblage of mind and rank and influence as in the Civilians' Church in Agra. I therefore find preaching to them a more difficult task. . . . The civilians here are very thoughtful, and pay the greatest attention to all that is said, but are keenly alive to anything that appears like unreality. . . . In regularity of church attendance I should think there was scarcely their like in India, but they make great complaints if the sermons are long and not well digested.

(4) *He was a great teacher and strict disciplinarian.* There can be no doubt as to his power and capacity as a teacher. He was possessed of a strong personality which made him respected and also feared. The general impression left upon the mind from available data is that he was a true pupil of the great Dr. Arnold, who had been his headmaster at Rugby, a representative of the traditional type of headmaster with which English Public Schools are familiar—a man of tall and stately presence and overpowering scholarship, a stern disciplinarian, and not too approachable. Schoolboys, especially in

their early days, fear such men, but they also love and reverence them before they leave, and in after life they generally speak with pride of the school where such men have ruled and governed. Mr. French was undoubtedly a man of this virile yet lovable type.

Mr. John Thornton, Secretary of the North-West Provinces Government, has left this impression of Mr. French on record :

Our first impression of him might be that there was something harsh and repulsive in him, but it needs only a very short acquaintance to show that he is a warm-hearted man. His strong sound sense, and active penetrating acute mind make him a valuable counsellor, and he does not spare himself trouble to take his share in helping our work.

For a more vivid impression, as a teacher at St. John's itself, we may turn to *Reminiscences of my Early Life*, by Mr. J. F. Fanthome, the honoured Secretary of the College from 1903 to 1914, who was himself a student under Mr. French for four years. Mr. Fanthome, writing in the *College Magazine*, April, 1914, states :

And he was feared by his boys! The sound of his boots used to cause a hush throughout the school and produced instant silence. He was by no means a tyrant or a harsh man, but he was a ruler of men, and there was no doubt about it.

Again he writes :

There was nothing which Mr. French loved more than truthfulness. If a boy committed himself in any way and went up to him and confessed freely what he had done, he was sure to be forgiven, and his straightforwardness commended. On the contrary, a lie or pre-

varication, or any attempt at deception, was never overlooked, and brought condign punishment upon the delinquent.

Mr. Fanthome gives an instance of the way in which Mr. French exercised discipline. A senior student, in a spirit of presumptuous bravado, had entered the writing-master's room while the class was in progress. When asked to leave he returned an impudent answer. Whereupon the master proceeded to eject him from the room, but was given a blow on the chest and was insulted by abusive language. The student, apprehensive of punishment, thought it wise to go at once to the Principal's House and give his own report of the incident, evidently expecting that as he was a senior boy and in Mr. French's own class, a favourable view of his conduct might be taken. The sequel is best related in Mr. Fanthome's graphic language :

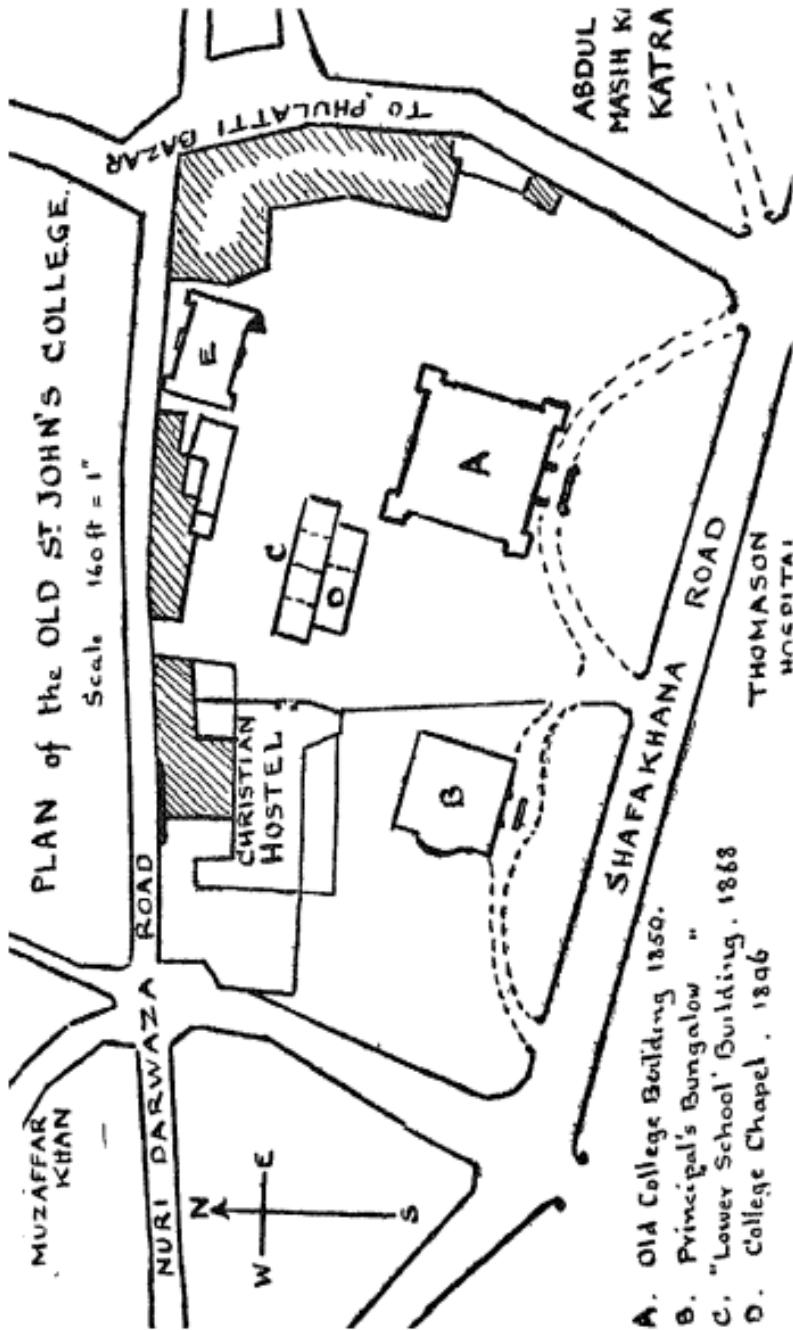
Very soon every one was galvanized by an order from the Headmaster that the whole College was to assemble in the Hall. Anon the sound of the Principal's boots was heard, and he stalked into the Hall looking flushed but self-possessed. He called up Nandram. Addressing him he said he had heard his story and had formed his own conclusions. He, Nandram, had no business to enter the writing-master's room and it was his duty to quit it when told to do so. The master was right in ejecting him as he did, whilst Nandram was guilty of a gross breach of discipline in assaulting him in the manner he did, and he must therefore be punished as a warning to others that a master's position was sacred and unassailable. "Put out your hands, sir," he thundered. Nandram put out his hands, Sita Ram (the Principal's peon) handed over the cane, and the Principal gave him four cuts such as the delinquent must have remembered many a day. He received them,

however, unflinchingly ; this was remarked by everybody. The Principal now told him that he was expelled from the College . Nandram walked out of the College quietly.

In recent years a public caning has been seldom inflicted. There was only one such instance in the author's twenty-one years of Principalship, and that occasion was a case of gross immorality. Ordinary breaches of discipline are controlled by fines ; but using unfair means for passing an examination was always followed by expulsion. The Indian student, as a rule, is easily controlled, but he has to be taught in a mission college that a Christian code of morals is not that which prevails in the bazaar, and that primarily a Christian college stands for the production of high moral character.

The personality of Principal French was so great as to overshadow that of Vice-Principal Stuart, but he also was a man of remarkable powers. He was a born organizer and leader of men. His chief task was to act as manager of the works, and to finish the building of the College and Principal's House as quickly as possible. His work as a teacher in Agra was almost negligible, as, owing to the ill-health of Mrs. Stuart, he was transferred to Calcutta at the close of 1853, only a year after the opening of the College. In 1908, some fifty-five years later, he revisited the College and received a great ovation. On that occasion he gave an address in the College Hall, in which with graphic and astonishing detail he spoke of the building of the College, and of the hopes that had inspired the early founders. He told how it was that the College came to be called " St. John's," and that it was the outcome of a conversation which took

place at Oxford between Mr. French and Dean Stanley. The name was Dean Stanley's suggestion, and appropriate in his opinion, as St. John's message was so peculiarly suitable to the oriental mind. Mr. French, in a letter written on board ship on the voyage out, refers to the naming of the College, but he gave a somewhat different explanation .



CHAPTER III

Begnings, 1852 to 1857

THE building of the College was begun in 1850, before the arrival of the missionary staff. It was built in a solid Gothic style, with four gables on each side and verandahs around, from designs prepared by Major Kittoe, R.E., a member of the Committee of the Agra Missionary Association. There was a large central hall, eighty feet by forty feet, with eight class-rooms, four on each side, opening on to the wide verandahs.

The opening ceremony took place on December 16, 1852, in the presence of a large and representative assembly of European and Indian gentlemen, who were interested supporters of the scheme and subscribers to the building fund. The C.M.S. Report for 1853 thus describes the occasion :

After prayer had been offered by the Rev. T. V. French, and appropriate addresses had been delivered by A. W. Begbie, Esq., the senior Civil Officer of the Presidency, and the Rev. T. G. Smyth, Chaplain of St. George's, Agra, the pupils (who had been under instruction in the old building, now superseded) were examined in their studies, and a number of prizes were distributed by Messrs. Begbie, Moseley Smith, and Sneyd Brown, Judges of the Sudder Court.

The building is a handsome and commodious one in the English ecclesiastical style, with pointed roof, and yet with the oriental addition of verandahs. It is conveniently situated close to the native part of the city,

on an elevated and now open site, and is a great ornament to Agra, besides rendering a neighbourhood, before a receptacle for rubbish and filth, a cleanly, open, and healthy place.

The College compound (with the exception of the portion reserved as a playground) has indeed for many years been green with well-grown trees, and is generally bright with shrubs and flowers. As the grounds of the Thomason Hospital, on the other side of the road, are equally green with trees and lawns, the two compounds present the appearance of an extensive and salubrious oasis in the midst of the crowded and dusty city.

The College was at once able to begin its career, as there were a considerable number of students who had been under Mr. French's instruction for more than a year in the Katra School.

There can be no doubt that from the first Mr. French placed before himself the ideal of *character building*, rather than more intellectual attainments, as the supreme aim and object for which a missionary college should exist. The following extract from a letter written early in 1851 makes this point abundantly clear.

I hope to set vigorously to work, first of all to master the languages; then to labour hard amongst the youths, and endeavour to establish a *character* which they can appreciate, if it please God to grant us consistency; then to learn to sympathize with them, to make them feel that one is come not merely to *teach* them, but to be their friend, with their best interests at heart, able to love a black or copper-coloured human being as well as a white, and so, by slow degrees, to influence and mould their spirits after the model that we have in Christ and His true and faithful disciples.

In these simple words we learn much of Principal French's secret of influence over his students and of the strength of his own life. There was the affectionate relationship between teacher and students and the high ideal of Christ ever present in their midst, however imperfectly at times it might be followed by those who claimed to be His disciples. Nor was there any danger of his students being *denationalized* under the new Principal! On one occasion, referring to Hindustani music and the discordant strains of the *tam-tom* which at weddings and festivals so frequently make night hideous to the European (especially when living in the very heart of the city), he said : " I am determined to like everything native that is not positively harmful."

When the Rev. James Leighton came in 1854 to take Stuart's place as Vice-Principal, a Christian Hostel was started on a small scale under his direction, its inmates being mostly boys drawn from the Secundra Orphanage. In the same year Mr. William Wright reached Agra and took charge of the School department as the first Headmaster.

As no system of University education had as yet been introduced into India, the Principal and his staff had to undertake the responsibility of determining their own standards of curricula, and of prescribing their own text-books. Those standards at first could not be very high, even for the first or College Class, as it was called. The standard of work prescribed for this Class in 1854 was approximately the Matriculation standard of an Indian University at the present day, and in the following year it was raised to about that of the Preliminary First Arts standard. The earliest account of the standard and

nature of the work of the College is to be found in the Principal's Report for 1855 from which the following is an extract :

The Scriptural part of the instruction still continues to occupy mainly, though not exclusively, the missionary's attention. The First Class has, in a five years' course, studied carefully the larger part of the Bible, and has, it is believed, a clear and accurate conception of the relative bearing and mutual illustration of the various portions of God's word. . . . Our valued friend, the Chaplain of St. Paul's (the Rev. W. J. Jay), kindly continued a weekly lecture on the Prophet Isaiah throughout the year. With Mr. Leighton they have read the Prophet Daniel: with myself the Epistles.

They have read in English History about two-thirds of Sir J. Mackintosh's second volume, which on account of its weighty political maxims and philosophical reflections, requires a slow and careful study. They have further prepared Schiller's *Piccolomini* and a large portion of *Wallenstein*, translated by Coleridge; also the latter half of Lord Bacon's *Essays*; Political Geography, from a valuable work by the Rev. J. Milner; also with Mr. Leighton, portions of Murray's *History of India*.

A large portion of their time has also been devoted to Geometry and Algebra, under the joint tuition of Mr. Leighton and Mr. Wright, to which should be added weekly Essays, translations and passages committed to memory from standard English poets and prose writers. On the whole, the scale of work has not been beyond their capacity and comprehension, though representing a point of English knowledge somewhat in advance of their present attainments.

In the following year, 1856, when there were 300 students, the Principal was able to report favourably of improvement and progress.

In the moral character and intellectual attainments of the students we trust we can see decided advances and the instruction appears to be appreciated and received with thankfulness, and that kindly and confidential feeling established between the instructor and pupil, which is a kind of pledge that not merely certain tasks are being learnt and certain objects of worldly advancement being attained, but the spirit and temper is being moulded and impressed in the direction of the principles inculcated.

The improvement has not been simply in the English Composition and in the amount of information received, but in the power of comparing facts and forming deductions from them, and practically applying those deductions. It must be confessed, however, that there are only a few who deserve this praise.

Considerable attention has been paid to Translations, in which the improvement is marked. The Library has been more frequently resorted to. The new Law Classes are very fairly attended, but are as yet elementary. . . . Only in Mathematics, from unavoidable causes, the standard is far below that attained in Literature.

In 1856 the books in Divinity, Literature, and Science were as follows :

The Prophet Jeremiah.

St. Paul's Epistles, from Galatians to Titus.

Part of a volume of Mackintosh's *History of England*.

Guizot's *English Revolution* (chiefly part of Vol. I).

Abridgment of *History of Roman Empire*, to Constantine.

Large portions of Schiller's *Death of Wallenstein* (Coleridge's translation).

Shakespeare's *Macbeth*.

First part of Bacon's *Novum Organum*.

Elements of Natural Philosophy, first half.

Political Economy.

Milner's *Political Geography*, almost entire.

Euclid and Algebra.

Mr. J. F. Fanthome, in his *Reminiscences*, gives an interesting account of the method of class-teaching :

There was no such thing as lecturing, of course, in the present-day sense of that term—the teachers were all called "Masters." A lesson was set which was heard on the following day. On assembling each boy took the place which he had gained on the previous day. A question was put, for instance, to the first boy ; if he failed to answer correctly, the second boy who answered correctly went up and took his place, and so on. The classes were full : in some there were as many as forty boys ; the first and second classes never had more than fifteen to twenty at any time, the third never more than twenty-five to thirty.

Holy Scripture was read verse by verse. Thus the chapter was begun by the head boy, the second was read by the second, and so on. The reading ended, the Master proceeded to explain, or he explained in the course of the reading. The other subjects were read and taught in the same manner, each boy reading a sentence down to the next period. A special half-hour or so was devoted to Mathematics. Slates were used, paper coming into fashion at a later date.

There were benches for the English classes only, all Oriental classes sat on the ground on *dais* or *tat* floors. . . . Marks were given daily and at the end of the month were totalled up and submitted to the Headmaster who indeed held the management, except in very special cases when he took the orders of the Principal. The Principal was inaccessible to the boys except in rare instances, all references being made to the Headmaster. . . . The system of fining boys was not much in vogue, caning was the usual mode of punishment, or gating, i.e. by being locked in a room, requiring the boy to get up the lesson in which he had failed to learn, or to write so many times on his slate.

Mr. Fanthome also mentions that learning poetry by heart was one of the recognized subjects. He tells

us he could at one time recite with ease four books of *Paradise Lost*, Cowper's *Timepiece*, Beattie's *Minstrel*, and numerous minor poems. There was also a weekly essay, the best one or two being copied in a book which was kept by the Principal.

It was part of the intention of the original founders of the College that it should be a centre of higher education, to which various C.M.S. high schools should be affiliated. One of the first of such schools was opened at Muttra in 1855. Referring to this school, Principal French wrote :

The affiliated institution opens up a pleasant prospect of gradually enlarging our borders so as to embrace in our educational system other cities besides Agra, to which the same principles of management and of instruction may be applied. We look forward to see our most hopeful students availing themselves of the occasion afforded by these lesser schools to communicate to others in their turn the ideas we laboured to instil into their minds. One of our English teachers there had been trained by myself for five years. Another will shortly be placed at the Rajpur School, which has about fifty pupils.

The headmaster of Muttra has discharged his duties in an upright and Christian spirit, and the progress hitherto made in the course of seven months has been encouraging.

This interesting forecast was largely fulfilled. In later years there were the following affiliations of C.M.S. high schools in the United Provinces—Gorakhpore (now a college), Benares, Basti, Azamgarh, Jaunpore, Meerut and Lucknow; and even in distant cities like Jubbulpur and Bombay there have been students from time to time, who have continued their higher education at St. John's. Moreover there are few mission colleges and high schools

in North India which have not been indebted to St. John's for Christian professors, headmasters, or teachers from time to time.

Another feature of the educational work of St. John's in these early years was the opening of "branch schools" in the city of Agra and the neighbourhood, as "feeders" to the Collegiate High School. Some of these existed even before the foundation of the College. Thus the Lohamandi School was opened in 1844, and the Belanganj School was older still. During this period there were the following branch schools attached to the Collegiate School, one or two of which did not survive the Mutiny :

| <i>School</i> | <i>Attendance</i> |
|------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Belanganj ... | 100 |
| 2 Chatteghat | 50 |
| 3. Lohamandi... | 125 |
| 4. Nai-ki-mandi | 30 |
| 5 Rajpur | 40 |
| 6. Isaitolah | 30 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 375 |

Up to the time of the Mutiny two of these schools, Belanganj and Chatteghat, were worked by the evangelistic staff of the Agra Mission. They were then taken over by the Rev. H. W. Shackell and worked from the College.

Any account of the work of Mr. French at Agra would be incomplete without some reference to his most remarkable and fruitful vacation itinerations into the Agra district and Rajputana. His diaries of these tours provide most fascinating reading. Again, in 1854 was held the great religious discussion between the leading maulvies of Agra and Dr. Pfander and

Mr. French, which resulted in the conversion of two of them,—Safdar Ali, a Government official of position, and Imaduddin, better known in later years as the Rev. Imaduddin, D.D., of Lahore.

Among the students in the College it is said that, of Mr. French's class of ten, five eventually became Christian. One, a Mohammedan, was baptized by Mr. French himself in his last year; another, a Brahman, was baptized later at Sabathu by American missionaries; another became the Rev. Madho Ram, who is well known in C.M.S. records; and yet another, Shobha Ram, a second master in the Government High School, Aligarh, wrote on Jan. 30, 1873, to Mr. French, informing him that he had "been baptized on the 15th of November last." He added, "I am your old student of the Holy Bible, who was about to be baptized in 1855, but was prevented by my mother, who is yet alive."

This chapter may appropriately conclude with an impression of the work and influence of Principal French and his staff, taken from the independent testimony of Mr. C. Raikes, Judge and senior Civilian Official in Agra, which appears in his *Notes on the Revolt*. Mr. Raikes thus described a visit to the College:

I first saw French about 1851. I was the guest of Mr. Thomason . . . and he proposed to take me to see the new missionary college which was being built in Agra, and the new missionary who was to rule over it. There, in a corner of the rising edifice, with some twenty or thirty . . . boys around him, sat the future Bishop of Lahore. The weather was hot, the room small, the subject a lesson in Milton's *Paradise Lost*. The contrast between the highly educated Fellow of University College, Oxford, and his little dusky flock; between the

sounding phrases of the poet and the Hindustani *patois* of the students, was too great for me.

"Surely," I exclaimed, as I went out, "this is a case of labour lost, of talent misapplied, of power wasted." I was wrong: that tie between master and student, or rather teacher and disciple, which in the day of adversity proved so strong and so lasting, was already formed, and was daily to draw closer the bond of union and love.

✓ He concluded the paragraph with the words: "The College grew in numbers and importance until in 1856, when I saw it again, the students were numbered by hundreds, and the institution rivalled the great colleges established by the Government."¹

¹ Quoted in Birks's *Life of Bishop French*, p. 49.

CHAPTER IV

The Mutiny

SO far as Agra was concerned the Mutiny of 1857 was a bolt from the blue in its startling suddenness. Here as elsewhere experienced British officials refused to believe in any mysterious "signs of the times," and obstinately maintained that a serious rebellion was quite impossible. Until the month of May the ordinary routine was followed in Government circles and in the College. All was quiet and normal. Early in the year Sir Henry Lawrence passed through Agra on his way to Lucknow. Pressed as he was by many engagements and suffering, as he told his host, Mr. C. Raikes, "from a dozen complaints," he begged that he might be allowed to spend one morning visiting St. John's College. Mr. Raikes thus described the occasion :

Mr. French in our presence examined the boys. Their knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, considering they were nominally Hindoos and Mahomedans, was simply astonishing. Sir H. Lawrence and I exchanged the remark that we should be very sorry to go through a similar ordeal.

But this display of what must be called head-knowledge was less suggestive to the Christian bystander than the general spirit of love and respect which prevailed. The boys were evidently devoted to their teacher, and seized upon every occasion to evince their veneration. The feeling was not only that of loyal obedience, but also of loving discipleship, if I may coin

the word, and, as events proved, they were ready to follow their Christian teacher anywhere and to do anything to prove their love and affection.

Principal French and his colleagues quietly carried on their daily work in the College during the early months of this fateful year in apparent unconcern and as if entirely unconscious of any impending storm. On May 3 Principal French, absorbed in thought for the welfare of the College, wrote to C.M.S. head-quarters, London, thus :

I am sure we owe you a great many thanks for your efforts to obtain us a Mathematical Master. It is a matter of great regret and of somewhat serious concern that, as yet, these efforts have been unavailing ! Leighton has been laid aside for a few days but is now able to return to a part at least of his labours. I feel the climate tell on myself, more than I did, in the way of severe exhaustion at times, as it is impossible in any way to remit one's efforts, and we have no sanatoria in these parts where we can recruit without expensive journeys to the Hills.

However, I still hope that for another one and a half years I may bear up against the strain of mind and body, which the climate and a rather large share of work require of me.

And there follows this sentence :

I think of seeing Mr. Colvin (the Lieutenant-Governor) this week and obtaining, if practicable, an additional Rs.100 p.m. for the Mathematical Master.

This interview never took place.

The chief point of interest in the above letter is that it does not contain a hint that the political situation in Agra or in North India was precarious. Yet a week later the Indian garrisons at Meerut, 130 miles away, and at Aligarh, fifty miles away, had

✓ broken out into open mutiny, and the news reached Agra on May 11. The missionaries in Agra then became aware that the situation was becoming serious, and this came home to them in a somewhat curious way, as we learn from the Rev. H. Birks in his *Life of Bishop French*. The Principal had sent his college *chaprassi* to Government House to ask the Lieutenant-Governor for a donation he had promised towards the new school house at Muttra, but he returned with a doleful face, and reported that all the *sahib-log* were together, the doors fast, and no one was admitted. This probably refers to the War Council mentioned by Mr. Raikes which was held on May 13. In this Council, as Mr. Birks tells us, "the Lieutenant-Governor was beset with suggestions and advice of every kind, and warned against assassination."

The result of this Council was the issue of orders to the effect (*a*) that the station was to be patrolled by a new body of volunteers, consisting of Europeans and Anglo-Indians, who were immediately to be enrolled for this object; and (*b*) that in the event of specific danger, the European and Anglo-Indian inhabitants were to gather at three centres, which were capable of being fortified, *viz.*, the Hill House at Haripurbat, the Khandhari Kothi, belonging to the Maharajah of Bharatpur; and Government House; and (*c*) that only under supreme necessity was there to be a retirement to the protection of the Agra Fort, with its ample accommodation and strong embattlements.

It was about this time that Mr. Raikes, Judge of Agra, who had been patrolling with his volunteers, rode to the College, and subsequently wrote as follows:

I must here pause to record the impression made upon me by the calmness and coolness of Mr. French. Every Englishman was handling his sword or his revolver. The road was covered with carriages, people were hastening right and left to the rendezvous at Khandhari Bagh, the city folk were running as for their lives, and screaming that the mutineers from Aligarh were crossing the bridge. The *budmashes*¹ were twisting their mustachios and putting on their worst looks! Outside the College all was alarm, hurry, and confusion. Within calmly sat the good missionary, hundreds of young natives at his feet, hanging on the lips which taught them the simple lessons of the Bible.

All through the terrible month of June the College remained open and Messrs. French, Leighton and Wright continued their daily work as usual. On June 17 Mr. French wrote :

Meantime we strengthen ourselves in the Lord our God and have great comfort in committing ourselves, with all that concerns us, into His hands. It is delightful to see how thoroughly those who conduct affairs in Agra are possessed with this spirit. Mr. Colvin and Mr. Drummond both express their full conviction that there are manifest signs of God's hand, of His over-ruling Providence, in the events that have occurred. . . .

Since I last wrote we have had no occasion to stir from our house by night or day, though many, from perhaps unnecessary caution, have done so. There are several fortified posts in the station, to which a number of volunteers from among the East Indians and others are attached, and there some people sleep.

After school in the morning I am able now to make good progress with my preparations for the work I wish to write, and can get on with languages also, besides catechists' classes; so that only the preaching department of our work is absolutely closed. Enquirers are of

¹ Men of bad character.

course fewer. This will show you that we still enjoy a large measure of peace and quiet in the station and have done so, indeed, since the disbanding of our troops on May 31st. We have had but a small share of actual danger, and of our civil and military officers only one life has been lost.

"Thou shalt hide them in the secret of Thy tabernacle" has been an unspeakable comfort: the future is in His hands.

Unlike other stations Agra was provided with an extensive and very strong Fort, built of massive red sandstone by the Moghul Emperors, Akbar and Shah Jehan, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This Fort could be vigorously defended and was capable of accommodating all the Christian inhabitants of the neighbourhood. It must have seemed but wisdom to take advantage of this protection when the situation became desperate. Pressure was brought to bear upon the Lieutenant-Governor and he gave a reluctant consent. He is reported to have said: "The wrath of God is upon us if we retire to the Fort."

The general retreat to the Fort took place early in July. On July 2 authentic news was received that various bands of mutineers that had revolted in Rajputana were marching towards Agra in large numbers, and had already reached Fatehpur Sikri, twenty-three miles away. This news precipitated the revolt of other contingents, which had hitherto remained loyal, and it was evident that the time for retreat had come.

In the Agra Fort the refugees were able to find an abundance of small rooms, very hot and uncomfortable no doubt, in the hundreds of alcoves that stand back in double tiers from the outer verandahs, in the

various quadrangles. The Rev. Henry Murray, who was Civil Chaplain at this time and himself a refugee, pointed out to the Principal years later, in 1898, the various locations of the different officials and others. He described how oppressive was the heat radiating from the stone-work, but the rooms were, at any rate, an ample protection from the monsoon rains which were by that time overdue. Some few Europeans and Anglo-Indians, however, preferred to take their own risks and to remain in their houses ; with the result that after the disastrous Battle of Shahganj on July 5, when the small British force faced 6,000 mutineers and was driven back to the Fort with a loss of 150 men, some twenty-two of these were massacred by the rabble, who afterwards proceeded to sack the city. Among those who fell in this way was a Mr. Hubbard, Professor of English Literature in the Government College, who was shot while trying to reach the Fort.

The total number of those who were accommodated in the Fort for the next six months is said to have been about 2,000 Europeans, of whom 900 were women and children, and there were also about 4,000 Anglo-Indian and Indian Christians.

As is well known, there was opposition at first to the admission of Indian Christians. There may have been several reasons for this. Some thought that being Indians, they ran but little risk ; whereas subsequent events proved that they were everywhere among the first to be attacked. Others may have thought that their admission, as *Christians*, might tend to inflame passions by unnecessarily presenting the conflict in the light of a religious war . and others, again, thought that if the number of refugees

were not strictly limited, there would be a danger of famine and an increase of every form of discomfort.

The Indian Christians of the Agra Mission were admitted without question ; it was only when the Rev. F. E. Schneider, with 240 orphan Christians from Secundra, arrived and begged for admission, that the question was raised. As the adult members of the community, with their wives, children and belongings were yet to follow, it was probably thought that so great an addition was a most serious matter. These Christians had already suffered much at the hands of the mutineers, for all the buildings at Secundra,—the Printing Press, the four residences of the European missionaries and of Mr. Longden, the Superintendent of the Press, the school premises, the Christian village and the church,—had been pillaged and wantonly destroyed.

The most reliable account of what happened is to be found in Mr. Leighton's *Reminiscences* :¹

Our native Christians were still outside the Fort, certain of massacre if they spent the night there. Mr. French made one more effort : all authority was now in the hands of the military officers. Mr. French obtained leave to bring them in, from whom I do not know—probably from the Lieut.-Governor, Mr. Colvin—but the authority was verbal. I was with him at the Fort Gate, bringing in the native Christians and taking from them their swords and muskets as they entered, when the Commandant of the Fort, Colonel G., and his aide-de-camp, Captain N., appeared, and with no little roughness, stopped them, demanding Mr. French's authority. The Commandant refused to listen, as there was no written permission. Mr. French said, with the greatest dignity and earnestness : “ I am an English clergyman, and claim to have my word taken.”

¹ Quoted in Burks's *Life of Bishop French*, p. 98.

It was in vain, however; the direst confusion prevailed. At last (but not, it would seem, till French had declared his unalterable purpose to stay out with them if they were refused), the aide-de-camp drew Mr. French aside and told him to get a written order from the Brigadier. He went, and returned with it, and the native Christians then went in. About forty of them immediately volunteered to go out with me to a bungalow, about half a mile distant, to bring in a large quantity of medical stores. It was now night, but the blazing bungalows on all sides gave all the light we needed; firearms were let off, and seemed close upon us, but no one was hurt. We all took our share, day and night, in nursing the wounded in hospital.

During the time in the Fort, regular church services were conducted by Mr. French on Sundays in the Diwan-i-Khass. In one of these sermons Mr. French appealed to the Europeans for a more considerate treatment of Indian servants! On September 9, the Hon. Mr. Colvin died, and was buried in the Fort. Mr. French attended him in his last illness and preached his funeral sermon. He eulogized his Christian character, his high sense of duty, and his bravery of heart in facing and meeting the difficulties that had arisen.

But the Mutiny was now drawing to a close. On September 20 Delhi fell, and on October 10 Agra was relieved by Colonel Greathead, who arrived with 3,000 men. Towards the end of the year most of those who had been beleaguered for about six months returned to their ruined homes. It was on New Year's Day, 1858, that Mr. French moved into the College House with his wife and four children, the youngest of whom had been born in the Fort on October 19; but for two months before this, he had been at work repairing the College, and preparing his

house for the return of his family. Writing about the middle of December he said :

We were the last to cease operations and the first to recommence them of the various institutions within the city and station. Though all portable property of every description, even to doors and windows, was carried off or broken to pieces, yet less deliberate malice was shown in the treatment of mission buildings than was exhibited towards the Government College, and many other edifices belonging to Government, which was pleasing in so far as it led us to hope that our motives and intentions were to some extent appreciated. . . .

Our difficulties are very great in maintaining an adequate staff, even after a general reduction of salaries and the dismissal of some of the less trustworthy teachers. Fortunately we had a balance in hand at the bank, or we should have been brought to a standstill. The destruction of the whole Secundra works, which was our mainstay and staff, deprived us at one blow of half our monthly revenue. At present we have not collected much more than one-third of our former numbers. It seems probable, however, that by slow degrees we shall recover confidence and rally our fugitives.

The Government are pausing in their educational schemes, whether they intend to recede or advance seems doubtful. Mr. Stewart Reid, Director of Public Instruction, wishes to make over the Government Colleges in Bareilly and Delhi to the missionaries. . . .

We have sustained very serious losses in the death of some of our most liberal supporters, especially Mr. Colvin, Sir H. Lawrence, and, I fear, Mr. Gubbins of Lucknow. . . . But I derive my comfort from the thought which I made my text on the occasion of Mr. Colvin's death, "The pillars of the earth are the Lord's"

It is gratifying to find that during this very trying time there were many instances of goodwill and loyalty on the part of students and college servants.

The headmaster of the Collegiate School, Mr. William Wright, has written :

Most of the senior boys manifested an attachment to us throughout the Mutiny. Some of them, not without risk to themselves, visited us in the Fort. Others employed themselves in searching beside the road for books belonging to the College, or our private libraries, and this when the danger was so great that no European was allowed to leave the Fort. Mr. Wood, a teacher in the school, when ill and no servant could be procured, was attended to night and day, in and out of the Fort, by a lad of his own class.

A boy at present in the class under my charge was chiefly instrumental in saving the lives of an Anglo-Indian lady and her children. His father, a *bajan* (clothman), got Hindustani dresses made up for them, and hid them in his own house, and fed them gratuitously till they could go with safety to the Fort.

For this service, Brij Ballab has just obtained an appointment in the Accountant's Office, with a salary much higher than his present attainments might entitle him to receive.

Whenever, soon after the battle, I was able to visit the College, four or five of the senior boys were always straggling about round its ruins. A boy in the sixth class in our school oftentimes, before the Mutiny, urged me to commit to his keeping my most valuable things ; I shared, however, in the general infatuation of thinking that nothing could happen. A friend of mine, more wise than myself, gave this lad the most valuable of his furniture, and it was all delivered to him again when peace was restored. This lad, Ballab Ram, was often threatened by neighbours for protecting property belonging to the *sahibs*.

The case of Sita Ram, the college *jemadar*, calls for special mention, as he was most valiant in defending the Principal's House. He had in his early days received a martial training in the army of the

Maharajah of Gwalior. Mr. French has left on record in a letter carefully preserved in the family, how Sita Ram "kept at bay for more than half an hour from thirty to fifty of the mutineers," who were endeavouring to break into the house, and how "at last he fell desperately wounded." For this gallant act, upon his recovery, he was awarded Rs.100 by the Provincial Government. In 1894, when Sita Ram died after forty-five years of faithful service, it seemed fitting that his memory should be honoured by placing a marble tablet, setting forth his gallantry at the time of the Mutiny, in the portico of the College, above the place where for so many years he had been on duty.

CHAPTER V

Recovery : 1857 to 1863

AS we have already seen, Principal French was back again at his post of duty as soon as possible, and the college building, though it had suffered considerably, was ready for occupation on New Year's Day, 1858, when College reopened with an encouraging attendance. For two months previously, whilst repairs were in progress, Mr. French had gathered together his scattered students, and had been teaching them in "an old ruined school house in the vicinity of the Fort"—a further example of his indomitable energy.

During January, he took his wife and children to Calcutta, on their way to England, as Mrs. French's health had been greatly shattered by her trying experiences in the Fort. On his arrival back in Agra he was greatly touched by the warmth of the welcome that was given him by the Indian Christian community. Writing on March 31, he said :

It was very affecting to me, as I passed through the Kuttra this evening at dusk, walking behind the *gari*, to be met by all the native Christians, who came to bless me in their simple way for having helped them in various ways, at the time we went into the Fort. It made one feel Wordsworth's words :

" But ah ! the gratitude of men
Has oftener left me mourning,"

Then my first class boys, too, all met me, so full of love and affection. It goes to my heart to feel the gap which yet separated them from me.

It must have been very disheartening, however, to have to begin the work all over again, without books or furniture, and with a depleted staff. Some of the non-Christian members of the staff failed to return, and others were considered untrustworthy ; but the task was bravely faced, and gradually the machinery of the College was re-established. Within two years the attendance had risen to 325, a higher level than had been reached before the Mutiny.

From a list of the membership of the Committee of the local C.M.S. Association, resuscitated in 1861, it would be seen that, while the allegiance of members of the Civil Service is well secured, there is a total absence of military representatives, which had been such a marked feature of pre-Mutiny days. Agra was no longer the capital of a province, as the seat of Government had been transferred to Allahabad. The High Court had also been transferred, and the Agra Mission had suffered greatly in the loss of tried friends and supporters by these changes.

Soon after the reopening the college staff was strengthened by the arrival of Messrs. Shackell and Fynes-Clinton. While in the Fort Mr. French had been greatly cheered by hearing that reinforcements were coming to the College, and more especially that his old college friend Clinton was among the number. For a very short time this fine combination of French, Shackell, Clinton, and Leighton were to work together, living in happy fellowship in the College House, one in each of the corner rooms, which were all that had survived the Mutiny. In April

Mr. Leighton was transferred to Amritsar, and in less than a year Mr. French was invalided home.

The Rev. H. W. Shackell, who succeeded French as Principal in 1858, was a young man of twenty-four years of age, of considerable intellectual distinction and some wealth. Mr. Fanthome, who studied under him, thus described him :

He was a short, slight man, youthful, diffident and undemonstrative, a perfect contrast to his predecessor. . . . Mr. Shackell was strong in Mathematics and he particularly devoted himself to this subject.

He only remained Principal for two years, but he remained in Agra until 1868 and gave part of his time to teaching in the College, officiating again as Principal from time to time during an interregnum. But his main interest was in direct evangelistic work in the district, and during his period in Agra there were more baptisms, both in and out of the College, than at any other time in the Agra Mission. John Barton, who relieved him in 1861, wrote of him :

He is a very dear fellow, so modest and almost painfully retiring, and yet so full of vigour and energy, while the sweetness of his disposition wins every one. He is going home to be elected Fellow of his College (Pembroke), after being told that if he presents himself in the course of the next few months they will certainly elect him, though they cannot do so unless he is present to take the oath. He quite hopes to be out again before Christmas, and I hope he will.

In this year 1861 the college staff suffered greatly from change and reduction. Not only was Principal Shackell absent in England, but the Rev. W. Wright, as he had now become, was ordered home, and soon after the Rev. D. Fynes-Clinton also left the College to become a Chaplain on the Bengal establishment.

Mr. Robert John Bell, however, a trained school-master who had come out to the Free School, Calcutta, in 1857, had come to Agra at Mr. Shackell's invitation in 1860. For a time he had to act as Superintendent of the Secundra Orphanage ; but he returned to the College as Headmaster in 1862.

The Rev. John Barton, who became Principal at this difficult time,—in his first year he was left for a time the only European member of the staff—was a distinguished graduate of Christ's College, Cambridge, having taken Honours in Mathematics and Natural Science. Though he was Principal for less than three years, this was long enough for him to leave upon the College a permanent impress of his character and personality. It was the beginning of a long life of distinguished service to the Church ; and years later he was to show again his influence upon young men and to form another link between St. John's College and Simeon's Church, when in 1876 he was called to be Vicar of Holy Trinity, Cambridge.

From the year 1860, the College had abandoned its own prescribed curricula, as given in a previous chapter, in favour of the Matriculation course of the University of Calcutta. This University had been founded in 1857, and the College was affiliated up to the B.A. standard in 1862. Principal Barton was at first apprehensive lest preparation for the Matriculation examination might lead to a diminished interest in the Scripture instruction, as this now became an additional subject to the secular course prescribed by the University ; but he found that “our Bible lesson is one of the most popular, if not indeed *the* most popular lesson of the day.” The students were willing “to come from long distances through the

burning sun and hot winds simply for the sake of Biblical instruction." They were also willing to come to his house for voluntary instruction on Sundays.

Referring to the Matriculation Course, he wrote :

I feel bound to acknowledge at the same time most heartily the advantage which has resulted to our College from the stimulus afforded by the Calcutta University. One immediate benefit is that we are obliged to see that the foundation already laid is a thoroughly sound and good one, that the fundamental rules of Grammar and Composition are thoroughly understood, and that our pupils know how to use their thinking faculties as well as exercise their memories. I have been surprised to find how superficial in many cases their knowledge of English has been. The weekly examinations which have been held since April in every subject have been of great use in this respect.

The first five candidates from the College for the Matriculation examination were presented in 1861. Of these three passed successfully, and formed the beginning of a College Department proper, as they proceeded to study for the University examinations. The University held a First Arts examination (commonly referred to as the F.A., and, at a later date, as the Intermediate), and a final Degree examination for the B.A.

In the month of December of this year, the College was officially inspected by Mr. Stewart Reid, Director of Public Instruction. He carefully examined the College Class, as also the first, third, and sixth of the school classes, and expressed his great satisfaction with the progress made.

The Annual Report of Principal Barton for the year 1861 is a long and most interesting document. It reveals the impressions of an ardent young mis-

sionary engaged in what at that time was a branch of missionary work very unpopular with many supporters at home. He devotes considerable space to the justification of the educational method, and points out some of the *results* achieved, e.g.:

In the first place, we find our older scholars thoroughly acquainted with both the doctrines and precepts of Christianity, so much so as almost to make one blush at times for our own professedly Christian countrymen.

Secondly, what is far more important, we see that this knowledge does really influence their outward life and conduct; their whole moral tone is raised to a striking degree; they acquire a regard for truth and honesty, and show themselves worthy of our confidence. Some of our old scholars become so attached to us that they prefer to remain with us as teachers on a far lower salary than they could obtain in Government employ. Indeed, with the exception of the one point of their being still unbaptized, there is little or nothing in their outward profession to make one realize that they are not Christians.

He added in writing to the Committee :

I came here with a strong prejudice against mission colleges, but that prejudice has been removed by experience in the work. The fact is simply this: if we wish to make our Bible teaching effective, if it is to receive the attention which we wish it to receive, if the teacher is to have that influence over the pupil, which he must have if the teaching is to have permanent effect—then it is absolutely necessary that the teacher should be able to direct his pupil's other studies, and to show him that Christianity does not unfit a man for the practical duties of life, but gives him a new motive, that of love for the Saviour Who died for him, to devote his time, his talents, and his energies to the glory of God.

Principal Barton was greatly pressed for lack of funds, owing to heavy expenditure upon repairs,

alterations, and necessary furniture. He introduced desks and forms for the students of the vernacular as well as for the English classes—"so that they may sit upright and read to some purpose, instead of squatting lazily upon the floor, in little knots of four or five, as formerly, with the pundit or munshi in the centre."

At this time there was no College Library, since the first one had been almost entirely destroyed in the Mutiny, together with valuable scientific apparatus. "We greatly need," wrote the Principal, "useful books of reference, such as encyclopædias, standard historical works, etc., together with interesting and instructive books, which our scholars may take to their own homes."

Mr. Barton took energetic steps to remedy this defect. He gratefully acknowledges a grant of £20 from the S.P.C.K. for this object. At the same time he was engaged with Mr. Hoernle in the rebuilding and extension of the Secundra Orphanage, which had been rendered urgently necessary by another famine.

But Mr. Barton's principalship will be ever memorable in the annals of the College on account of the great moral stand which he took in 1862 against the tyranny of the Hindu caste system. The account of this historic event in the life of the College will be presented best in the words of the Principal's own official statement in his Annual Report :

The chief feature of encouragement in our work during the year has been the occurrence which has emptied the College of more than half its students,—and created a greater sensation

in Agra than any event, I suppose, since the Mutiny. The circumstances of the case are briefly as follows :

In the Report of 1859, Mr. Shackell mentioned the baptism of a man from the despised "Sweeper" caste, who had shown considerable zeal even before his baptism in instructing his neighbours and their children in the truths of Christianity. As he seemed to possess some capacity for teaching, Mr. Shackell gave him the charge of a little school which he had built in the neighbourhood of their houses, and there he has been ever since. One of his pupils was his own son, a lad of seven or eight years of age, whom he instructed, to the best of his ability, in Urdu and Hindi, both of which the boy learned with facility.

On the reopening of the College in November after the long Summer vacation, the father brought the boy to me and asked me to admit him to the College. He had taught him all he knew himself, and it was only natural and right that he should wish his son to profit by the higher educational advantages afforded by our mission colleges. I admitted the boy at once, and for the first day or two no overt opposition was manifested, except by some of his class-fellows, who shrank from contact with him as though he had the plague.

As soon, however, as the fact of his admission became generally known, I was assailed with petitions on all hands that he might be expelled, while several of the students of the first, second, and third classes went so far as to send me a

joint letter, expressing something like a threat, to the effect that they would leave if the boy was not sent away, supposing doubtless, that they would thus intimidate me into submission. To these applications I could only return one answer, *viz.*, a firm and decided negative. Mere considerations of expediency might have led me to question, whether it was wise for the sake of this one boy to run the risk of losing almost all my pupils, but the circumstances of the case were such that I felt to yield would be to compromise Christian principle, especially as the boy was a Christian.

I certainly did not expect when I formed this decision that the seceders would muster so strong, or evince so determined a spirit as the result has shown, but I have never regretted for a single moment having acted as I did, though it has led to the withdrawal of some 180 students, several of whom I was really sorry to lose. The chief leaders of the malcontents were, however, caught in their own trap. They had reckoned on gaining admission into the Government College, and had they come and tendered their resignations on the ground either of their religious or social scruples against remaining in a College to which "Sweepers" were admitted, I could not in fairness, and certainly should not, have refused to allow them to resign.

As it was, however, their absenting themselves without leave or explanation of any kind, was a breach of discipline, and they thus by their own act shut themselves out of the Government College, for there has been for some time a

mutual agreement subsisting between the Principal of that institution and myself, not to receive each other's pupils without properly signed certificates of resignation.

Nothing daunted, however, by the Principal's refusal, and backed by several leading individuals, Natives and Eurasians, connected with the Government Offices, the seceders appealed to the Director of Public Instruction, Mr. Kempson. (Their application, and the Director's reply, in which he supports the Principal's action and refuses to intervene, will be found in the appendix at the end of this chapter.) It was no little satisfaction to me to find myself so thoroughly supported in the course of action which I had felt it my duty to adopt by the Head of the Educational Department in these Provinces. . . .

The seceders thus baffled on every side adopted the wisest course that they could perhaps pursue, and determined to set up a College for themselves on strict "caste" principles. They at first designated their rival institution the "Hindu College," a title which was subsequently exchanged for the more high-sounding and certainly more pretentious appellation of the "Victoria College."

Their next step was to bring all the pressure they could to bear upon the rest of our students, who had, up to that time, remained firm to their allegiance, and even upon the Teachers themselves. The finger of scorn and the contemptuous epithet of *Bhangi* was more than many of them could resist, while the attraction of lower fees

and a very lax discipline drew away a great many more. At the close of the year I was told the new school numbered over 200 scholars.

At the beginning of December, so great was the pressure brought to bear upon seven of my teachers (all of them Gujrati Brahmans), by their caste fellows, that they were obliged to resign their posts on pain of being turned out of caste—an *experimentum crucis* which I could hardly expect even the best and most enlightened of them to withstand. There are, I believe, no less than 600 families of Gujrati Brahmans, all living in the same suburb, where they have been ever since Akbar's days,—and it is probably owing in a great measure to their influence that caste prejudices are maintained in Agra with a tenacity unheard of in other parts of North India, not even in the holy Kashi¹ itself.

As an instance of this, I may mention that one of the students of the Government College at Bareilly at the present time is a boy of the Sweeper caste, and though some little opposition was manifested, when he was first admitted, not a single student left in consequence.

If St. John's College temporarily suffered in the loss of students there can be no doubt that it gained enormously in moral *prestige* and spiritual influence, in consequence of the Principal's brave stand for the Christian principle of the Brotherhood of Man. Even the Victoria College, which continues to flourish in Agra as a high school, has long been

¹ i.e. Benares.

but a friendly rival, and during Mr. Haythornthwaite's period of service, its principal was an ex-student of St. John's College, and his personal friend.

Children of outcaste origin nowadays sit side by side with children of higher castes in colleges and schools, whether Government-aided or private institutions. The battle has been fought and won, and other victories along the same lines of progress and human brotherhood are sure to follow, so strong is the Christian spirit now abroad in India. It is also well that it should be widely known that the children of Sweepers, who have become Christians, in the second and third generations are able to hold their own in University distinctions with the Brahman or other privileged classes.

For the time being, however, the College was largely depleted of students, and those who remained had to suffer much real persecution because they remained firm to the moral stand which the College had taken. Yet Principal Barton did not become less popular or less respected by the European community, or by influential representatives of the Rajputana States, and certain sections of other classes of the Indian community. It is recorded that, at the annual Prize Giving in 1863, "an unusually large assemblage of visitors were present to testify their interest in the proceedings." The Bishop of Calcutta (the Right Rev. G. E. L. Cotton, Metropolitan) presided over the meeting, and he was supported by General Lawrence, the Viceroy's Agent for the Rajputana States, attended by the Maharajahs of Bharatpur and Alwar. These two Rajput chiefs subsequently subscribed Rs.200 and Rs.300, respectively, to the College Fund.

There was also a large attendance of European and Indian residents of Agra.

In February, 1863, Principal Barton was succeeded by the Rev. Charles Ellard Vines, and for a year he was stationed at Amritsar. He then returned to England, as the Rev. Henry Venn was anxious to consult him in regard to the whole policy of missionary education, and after furlough he returned to India as first principal of the Cathedral Mission College, Calcutta. It is interesting to note that Mr. Shackell was again associated with Mr. Barton in the foundation of this College, which in its way has been as important an educational experiment as St. John's College.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER V

Correspondence between the seceding students and the Director of Public Instruction

To

M. Kempson, Esq., M.A., Director of Public Instruction,
N.W.P. Camp, Agra.

The Humble Petition of the Seceding Students of St. John's
College, Agra

Respectfully Showeth,

That your Petitioners beg to submit this representation
for your favourable consideration and orders.

2nd.—Your Petitioners were constrained to leave St. John's College owing to Mr. Barton's new policy of bringing them in contact with "Sweeper" boys. In vain your Petitioners remonstrated with Mr. Barton, and being helplessly unable to part with their national manners and customs, they preferred (though reluctantly) their separation from St. John's College to yielding obedience to an objectionable policy.

3rd.—After this your Petitioners applied for admission in

the Government College, but Mr. Deighton, the Officiating Principal, refused to admit them for want of Certificates of resignation which your Petitioners could not obtain from Mr. Barton.

4th.—Your Petitioners should not be confounded with culprits. They were compelled to quit St. John's College under the laws of society scrupulously respected by high caste natives; Mr. Barton, however, has treated your Petitioners with indifference, and Mr. Deighton by refusing to admit them in the Government College in the absence of prescribed rules in support of the order passed by him, makes the case of your Petitioners still worse. Such a proceeding on the part of a Government Officer is in contravention of Her Majesty's Proclamation, which enjoins that Her Majesty's subjects of every creed would be treated alike by Government Officers.

5th.—As Providence has elevated you to the most exalted position in the Educational Service in these Provinces, your Petitioners, with sanguine hopes of success, beg to approach you for an impartial decision on the subject of their admission in the Government College, and your Petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

Agra, November 22nd, 1862.

From

The Director of Public Instruction, N.W.P.

To

Sukh Ram, and Others, Petitioners.

In answering a Petition, under date November 22nd, 1862, from students of St. John's College, Agra,—I do not contemplate interference with the management of a Private Institution, but as an appeal has been made to me, I shall consider the circumstances of the case, and as a friend offer my advice to the Petitioners.

2nd.—In the first place, they arraign the "policy" of the gentleman under whose tuition and guidance, so far as the object of the Institution under his control is concerned, they had voluntarily placed themselves. If dissatisfied, they were at liberty to withdraw. If he, on the other hand, holds

their conduct in any instance to have been unreasonable and insubordinate, he is right in withholding Certificates.

3rd.—Most of the Petitioners have studied at St. John's College long enough to acknowledge the devotion of its Principal to his duties, even if the scholastic success which has followed his efforts were not a sufficient proof, and they are well aware that he, as Head of a Private Institution, depending mainly on private resources, has been working only for their benefit, and with no intention of thwarting their social or religious prejudices. Disregarding this, and forgetful of his care and kindness, they now accuse him of this intention.

4th.—The circumstances of the case are not accurately given in the Petition. The Principal had admitted into his classes a Christian boy, the son of a Christian father, and the Petitioners in consequence decline to yield him any further submission, supposing that their conduct is justified by the fact that the boy once belonged to a sect, contact with whom they are led to believe is undesirable. The fact of the boy being a Christian, or the *religious* aspect of the question, is passed over, and I am given to understand by the terms of the Petition, that the objection is based on *social* considerations, yet the Petitioners have thought it necessary to draw my attention to the toleration, which is extended by Her Majesty's Proclamation *in matters of religion*. Be this as it may, the conduct of the Petitioners is considered by the Principal to be unreasonable and insubordinate. He is also aware that concession, after he has once firmly expressed his wishes, would deprive him of all future authority.

5th.—In the second place, they take upon themselves to blame the Officiating Principal of the Government College for acting up to an established rule. The Government has liberally opened certain Educational Institutions for the benefit of the people: and as the Officers in charge exercise the power of dismissing those students, whose conduct is not consistent with the maintenance of good order and discipline, so they have the right to refuse admission to any applicant whatsoever whose previous behaviour is considered to promise unfavourably for the future.

In the present instance, they who begin by censuring the proceedings of an Officer under whose care they wish to place themselves, are not likely to prove manageable scholars. The rule which disqualified them is a salutary check upon irregular admissions, and it has hitherto acted beneficially on the scholastic character of both Colleges, and I see no reasonable grounds for its relaxation now.

6th.—As their sincere well-wisher, I advise the Petitioners to reconsider their conduct, and as docile students to ask their late Master's forgiveness. I can only add that I shall be glad to receive the visits of them, or of any of their natural guardians, who may wish to consult me further.

(Sgd.) M. KEMPSON,
Director of Public Instruction,
North-West Provinces.

Camp, Agra, the 24th November, 1862.

CHAPTER VI

Ups and Downs : 1863 to 1879

IT is clear that the College soon recovered from the effects of the "secession," and that the confidence of parents and students had not been severely shaken by the moral stand which had been taken ; for the attendance of students, which had fallen to 194 after the secession, rose to 270 in the following year, and to 380 in 1866, which was a higher level than any previously reached.

The new Principal, the Rev. Charles Ellard Vines, had graduated with Mathematical Honours at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1862. He was Principal of the College for two periods, from 1863 to 1871 and again from 1874 to 1878. There is abundant evidence that he was a sound educationalist and a devoted missionary, and one to whom the College was greatly indebted for the reputation which under him it was able to achieve. The Director of Public Instruction, in his report for 1871, *i.e.* at the end of Principal Vines's first period, wrote : "St. John's College still maintains its high position, and is foremost among the aided colleges of these Provinces."

One of his first acts was to benefit the College by strengthening its Endowment Fund, which had been begun a few years before. Writing in 1864, he said :

At the end of 1863 there was a surplus of Rs.2,412, which was larger than is necessary to meet the ordinary

expenses of the College. I was persuaded, therefore, to invest Rs.1,000 in a mortgage at 7 p.c., thereby adding to the Endowment Fund which has been accumulating for some years. This was approved by the other missionaries, and by Mr. Stuart (the late Vice-Principal of the College), Secretary of our Calcutta Corresponding Committee.

It should be noted that ex-Principal Shackell was still giving good service to the College. He had returned to Agra as a most active member of the Evangelistic staff, and during the summer, when the College was in session, he was ever ready to help in the work whether as acting Vice-Principal or as teacher of Mathematics. In 1866, when the college staff was strengthened by the transfer to Agra of Mr. Albert Henry Wright as Headmaster, Mr. Bell, after a short absence in England due to ill-health, became Vice-Principal. Mr. Wright, who had taken a Teacher's Diploma at the C.M.S. Training College, Highbury, had begun his service in India at Meerut in 1864 ; and both as Headmaster, as Superintendent of the Christian Hostel, and later as head of the Normal School, he won the confidence of parents and the love of his students.

Of the scheme for improving the art of teaching by the establishment of a Normal Class, Mr. Bell wrote in his Report for 1866 :

During the past year, carrying out the recommendation of the Benares Educational Conference, we have established a Normal Class for those students who were desirous of becoming teachers, thus forming the Lower School department into a practising school, while the young teachers enjoy all the advantages of a Normal College by continuing their studies in the College Department.

They enjoy, however, under this system, a greater

practical training than that received by students in most English Training Colleges, though not so much as under the Government Pupil Teachers' system. We have thus endeavoured to combine the Pupil Teachers' system with a Training College education. Our students were selected from the College and Entrance Classes, and so far we have had every reason to be satisfied with the result.

This training will be of incalculable benefit both to the students in the Normal Class and to the schools where they may be hereafter located. The old notion, that any one who had failed in all other professions might successfully undertake the duties of a master, is well-nigh exploded, the students fully appreciate this training, and the system has become popular both among the masters and scholars.

In 1866, on January 25, there was held a dramatic and most interesting prize-giving;—dramatic, because a telegram announcing the fact that Damodar Dass, a student of the College, had successfully passed the B.A. Examination of the Calcutta University, was received only a short time before the meeting took place. Damodar Dass was thus the first student of St. John's to graduate in Arts, and this announcement was received with great applause by all present.

On this occasion the College was again favoured by the presence of Bishop Cotton of Calcutta, who timed his visitation so as to be able to preside at this annual gathering of the friends and supporters of the College. In the course of the proceedings Damodar Dass read an address, in the form of a short essay, in which he expressed his opinions upon the advantages of education, and his sense of indebtedness to his teachers. The address was written in good English and put together with considerable taste; and it

concluded with some sound advice to his fellow-students, which the position he had attained at the College, and the fact of his being about to leave, entitled him to offer without presumption. (See appendix at the end of this chapter.)

The Commissioner of Agra, Mr. J. H. Batten, who also spoke, referred to the need of a playing-field and held out hopes of a suitable field being given near the city wall in the neighbourhood of the College. Mr. Batten was probably referring to a piece of ground in front of the garden of the old Principal's House, which was bounded by the old city wall. Until quite recently this ground was a vacant space, though somewhat small for a cricket field. The College apparently never possessed a recreation ground of its own, beyond the play-ground in the College compound, until the year 1891, when a fine open space at Haripurbat was taken and became the scene of many a well-contested game of cricket and football.

In the following year the new Bishop of Calcutta, Bishop Milman, visited the College, and delivered a lecture which was much appreciated. He also held two confirmations in the vernacular, in Agra and Secundra, and ordained four missionaries in St. Paul's Church.

In his report for 1867, Principal Vines dealt with a matter of great practical interest in a mission college, *viz.*, how to maintain the standard of study and preparation in the Scripture subjects; and it is interesting to compare his remarks with those already quoted from the earlier Report of Principal Barton (pp. 45 and 47). He wrote.

I think the annual examination shows that the Scripture lessons have been during the past year carefully

taught by the teachers, and in most cases carefully prepared by the students. The Annual Examination of Mission Schools in the N.W.P., instituted by the various Superintending Missionaries who unite together and hold a joint examination in October, has a beneficial effect in this respect. I have also thought it advisable to hold formal examinations of all the classes more frequently with the same view of ascertaining that the Scripture lesson is not neglected.

The University assists us to obtain a high standard of secular education by means of its examinations in which our more advanced students are compared with those of all the other Colleges in the North of India, but its exclusion of Divinity makes some of our pupils inclined to neglect their Bible lessons as of no use. Its influence upon our Mission Colleges is therefore partly good and partly evil, but I am inclined to think that the former outweighs the latter, when we apply the corrections I mention above to secure a due attention to Scripture lessons.

It is, for instance, a great thing to have an examining body independent of Government and Missionary Societies, examining our students and classing them. And I know that the old students of the College scattered here and there throughout the country look anxiously each year to see how students of St. John's College are placed.

It should not be forgotten, of course, that every year many students are admitted from non-Christian schools and colleges, who may never have seen the Bible, and whose knowledge, therefore, cannot but be meagre in comparison with that of students who have been reading for many years in a missionary institution. Yet it has been by no means an uncommon event for a non-Christian student to win Scripture prizes and scholarships, when in competition with Christian students who have been

familiar with Scripture teaching from their earliest days.

Principal Vines's Report then goes on to deal with problems raised by the growth of the College :

At the close of 1867, three students of the College Department passed the First Examination in Arts. One of these was in the first class, an honour which was gained by only one other student in the N.W.P. Seven students of the School Department have also matriculated, but none of them (I am sorry to say) has gained a first class.

At the beginning of 1867 I raised the fees, as the number of students was greater than we could accommodate in our class-rooms. This has had the effect of much diminishing the numbers, and the time appears to have arrived when an additional building should be erected. A plan for new class-rooms suitable for the instruction of our lower classes has been presented to the Director of Public Instruction, N.W.P., and he has promised to lay it before the Government and to support our application for a grant-in-aid to the amount of half the cost of its erection. The whole cost including the furniture, will be Rs 7,700, of which I hope to raise half by subscriptions gathered in England and India.

This addition of the "Lower School" building, which was completed in 1868, consisted of a long hall for the assembly of the school students when the school opened and closed, and four class-rooms. It sufficed for the accommodation of school classes until 1896, when a further school block became necessary. The long hall then became the College Chapel for some years.

In this same year, 1868, the College was honoured by a visit from the Viceroy, Lord Lawrence, who will always be remembered as a great friend and supporter of Christian missions.

During these years Mrs. Vines, the wife of the Principal, was able to open a little *purdah* school for girls. A friendly *munshi* who owned property adjoining the College compound on the north side, offered one of his houses for this purpose, and an entrance was made from the Principal's compound by which Mrs. Vines was able to enter the school. Girls from other localities were brought to the school in covered *dhooties* or palanquins. To this day the Queen Victoria High School enjoys the income from a small endowment fund raised by Mrs. Vines for the promotion of the education of Christian girls in Agra.

In the year 1871 the C.M.S. High School at Muttra had to be closed owing to the withdrawal of the grant-in-aid, though not without a vigorous protest being made by Mr. Vines. It may be remembered that this high school had been established in Muttra in 1855 by Mr. French. During the Mutiny the school was destroyed, but afterwards it was restored and for some years supplied the educational needs of the city so far as English was in demand.

By the end of this year 1871 Mr. Vines's health was failing, and early in 1872 he was obliged to hand over charge to Mr. R. J. Bell, as officiating Principal, and to take furlough on medical certificate to England. His break-down in health was due, as has so often been the case with educational missionaries, to the fact that at times he was single-handed, and at all times had to bear a greater burden of teaching and responsibility than would in these days be considered compatible with efficiency, whether from a missionary or from an educational point of view.

Mr. A. H. Wright had been transferred to Allahabad in 1870, and in 1872 Mr. Bell was left for a time

the only missionary in Agra. In addition to officiating as Principal of the College he had to be chairman of the Indian Christian congregation, in charge of the out-stations of Muttra and Brindaban, of the work among the Chamars in Agra, and of the itineration work in the district.

Towards the end of this year the C.M.S. received an offer from the Rev. W. Newton, of York, of twelve scholarships of £12 each for three years, to assist Christian students in India. One of these came to St. John's, and Mr. Bell referred gratefully to this help in his Report : "The first holder of this scholarship is a young Christian, Samuel Thomas, who is studying for his degree. His father is a catechist under Mr. Hoernle at Meerut."

The year 1873 is memorable in the history of the College as the beginning of the long connection which it has had with Haileybury College. For some time Dr. Bradby, the Master of Haileybury College, had been anxious to establish a link between the old East India Company's College and some form of missionary work in India. It was decided that the link should be made with St. John's College, and from 1874 to the present time Haileybury College has forwarded an annual contribution of £150 with unfailing regularity, and has again and again sent special contributions to one or another of the many building schemes. A detailed history of this Haileybury connection will be found in Appendix B.

But we come now to a time of discouragement, when "marking time" would be a more correct description than "advance." From 1874 to 1890 the College was in partial eclipse as regards its higher university work. For lack of adequate support, both

of staff and funds, the B.A. classes had to be closed, and thus the academic status was lowered to that of a secondary college, or, more correctly, St. John's became a high school with a First Arts department. By strenuous effort these First Arts classes were maintained during these sixteen years, so that students might at any rate for two years more pursue higher courses in a Christian institution after passing the Matriculation Examination. The numbers in the College proper ranged from fifteen to twenty-eight, and the average attendance was about twenty students. The work of teaching in such "skeleton classes" would, of course, have sufficed for much larger numbers.

In a note written by Pandit Girraj Kishore Datt, the first President of the Old Boys' Association, he mentions that he was the only one to pass out of three candidates from the College for the F.A. examination in 1875. He wished to continue his studies for the B.A., and while Principal Vines, who had just returned to the College, could not open a B.A. class for one student, he gave him private coaching for some time in the following year.

The loss of its higher classes does not mean that St. John's ceased to be a valuable missionary institution. The work of the Collegiate School was carried on most vigorously, and to a great extent the high reputation which the College had secured was maintained by the good work of the Normal School.

We must not forget that for three years, 1871-74, the College had stood first of all aided colleges in the Provinces in University distinctions, and this success in University examinations had given the institution a remarkable popularity. There can be no doubt that

but for the adverse circumstances which now arose, there would have been a continuous and stronger advance.

From its start the College had enjoyed a considerable amount of official recognition, owing to the unique character of its foundation. Officials of high standing in Government service, passing through Agra had frequently visited the College in order to see how it was fulfilling its special mission. During the year 1874, the College again had the honour of welcoming a Viceroy, His Excellency Lord Northbrook, the head of the Baring family. And yet it was in this very year that the College suffered its great loss in support and prestige, by the withdrawal of the Government grant-in-aid to the College Department!

In the C.M.S. Calcutta Report for 1875 we read :

The N.W.P. Government had withdrawn its Grant from St. John's College Classes, giving some small increase to the support of the School Department. This action is justified on the ground that there is room in the Government College (in Agra) for all the students who desire to read for a degree. It is also pleaded that, as the Government College enjoys large endowments granted by natives of Agra, it could not be closed without injustice to these benevolent donors, and the discouragement of similar contributions towards the maintenance of learning for the future. Government might indeed have remembered how often they have granted aid to Hindu institutions started in rivalry to missionary schools on the express grounds that it was unfair to compel non-Christian students to attend a Christian institution. By parity of reasoning, it is unfair to compel students who distrust Government Colleges because of their non-religious character to attend such institutions. Christianity at least deserves

the respect paid to Hinduism. The Church Missionary Society have felt themselves unable to close their doors against students anxious to continue their studies in a Christian institution, although Government action has made their benevolence more expensive.

"In the College," Mr. Vines wrote, "the withdrawal of the grant to the College Department called forth from the native community a testimony in its favour which I had hardly expected. A petition was presented to the Lieutenant-Governor of the N.W.P., signed by 350 persons, in which the petitioners spoke of the benefits conferred by the College, and stated that some of them were formerly students of the College, and had now placed their sons in it. They urged upon the Lieutenant-Governor the claims of the College Department to have its grant restored. You will have heard from the Secretary of the Calcutta Corresponding Committee that the Governor-General has granted the petition; and we shall, I trust, commence the year under more flourishing circumstances."

It would appear that the withdrawal of grant was due to the action of the Provincial Government and that this petition and Principal Vines's strong protest had not been made in vain. In the C.M.S. Report for 1876 we read: "The Government of the N.W.P. has not yet restored the grant to the College, although directed to do so by the Supreme Government." The fact remains that the college grant was *not* restored, and until the year 1906, St. John's College maintained its University classes without Government aid.

Early in 1879 Mr. Vines left Agra broken in health, having completed seventeen years of splendid

service ; and he died at Ramsgate the following autumn. The Rev. James Abbott Lloyd had been appointed to relieve him in 1876, but, on arrival, he seems to have persuaded the Principal to carry on a little longer, while he modestly prepared himself for his future post by acting as Vice-Principal for more than a year. The instructions given him on his appointment by the C.M.S. show clearly that the Society was disappointed with the results of its educational work in Agra.

Thus the causes which brought about the arrest of progress in the College were two-fold.

(i) *There was reaction in Government policy.* There is no doubt that about this time, the Supreme Government was seriously reconsidering its whole policy of Higher Education. Although the number of graduates from the various Universities was not yet very great, there was already considerable discontent among them because of their inability to find employment in Government service and in the various professions. The supply exceeded the demand. In India the Government expenditure upon Higher Education has always been considerable. If the result of this expenditure was mainly to breed discontent because of unemployment, we can well understand that it might be considered wise to withdraw grants, and to curtail the expenditure of Government funds. We are reminded of the caustic remarks of Lord Macaulay, in his *Minute on Education*, February 2, 1835. The students of the Sanscrit College, Benares, had complained that they were sure it was not the intention of Government, after behaving so liberally to them during their education, to abandon them to destitution and neglect. Macaulay's

comment was : " I doubt not they are in the right . . . for surely we might, with advantage, have saved the cost of making these persons useless and miserable ; surely men may be brought up to be burdens to the public . . . at a somewhat smaller charge to the State."

But there was a further and deeper cause for what has been described as the " eclipse " which overshadowed St. John's College from 1874 to 1890. The College could have continued its work, though crippled by the loss of its college grant from Government, provided that the home Church had been able to make good the deficiency in income by increased support ; but, alas, this loss abroad synchronised with a period of retrenchment at home owing to a disastrous reaction in mission policy.

(2) *There was reaction in the home Church.* The general explanation of the prejudice against Educational Missions, which prevailed half a century ago, is that the educational method was a new and untried method, and further, it was unproductive of immediate baptismal results. Missionary authorities seem to have thought that the evangelistic method was *par excellence* the right mode of approach. Undoubtedly there was a good deal to be said in favour of direct preaching of the Gospel in the vernacular. It was apostolic, and when applied to primitive and illiterate races, whether in India, China, Africa, or the South Sea Islands, had been remarkably successful. But the problem of how best to reach the *cultured and intellectual* classes belonging to the great orthodox systems, like Islam and Hinduism, had never been seriously faced. These people have an equal moral right to the presentation of the Gospel, which is to

"every creature"; and the more spiritual members of them are earnestly seeking for that fuller light which, we believe, Christianity can offer.

Strangely enough, this same prejudice against Educational Missions prevailed also among missionaries in India, until about 1892, when, at the Bombay Decennial Conference, the value of Education as a missionary agency was fully established by the able advocacy of such veterans as Dr. Miller of Madras, Dr. Ewing of Lahore, and Dr. Mackichan of Bombay.

But the controversy in the home Church was directed not merely towards the disparagement of Educational Missions; it went much further. At the Wolverhampton Church Congress of 1887, the whole *raison d'être* of Christian missions was openly challenged. In the *Fortnightly Review* and elsewhere they were denounced as futile, visionary, and wasteful. These attacks were ably met, but for the time being they had the effect of shaking confidence and of weakening the support of missionary activities, and the Educational Missions suffered the most severely.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VI

Damodar Dass's Address

AS this is the last time that I shall appear as a student of this College before this public assembly, instead of reading out an Essay or reciting a piece of Poetry, I would like to return my thanks to the founders and patrons of this Institution, especially to those concerned in its immediate management and control, for the inestimable gifts of education, which I have had the honour of receiving within its precincts.

I must also pay my thanks to all those who feel that warm interest in its welfare, which every right-minded man ought to take in the prosperity of all such institutions, where honest and faithful work is diligently carried on with the simple object of promoting the good of the country in which God's Providence has placed him.

I would also take advantage of this opportunity to address some words of encouragement to my school-fellows, and of commanding St. John's College with more than usual earnestness to the loyalty and devotion of its pupils, by setting before them in a clear light the nature and objects of this Institution.

First of all, I would offer my respectful thanks to the Chairman of the meeting, the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, and President of the Church Missionary Society in this Diocese, and therefore, the present representative, as it were, of the founders and patrons of this College.

Next my thanks are due to all the gentlemen who have vouchsafed this day to be present at the Annual Meeting, on an occasion of mere ceremony and festive commemoration.

Thirdly, as a representative of all the students of the College, I offer their, as well as my own, most cordial and respectful thanks to the Principal, the Rev. C. E. Vines, the Vice-Principal, R. J. Bell, Esq., and the ex-Principals, the Rev. T. V. French, the Rev. H. W. Shackell, and the Rev. J. Barton, for the direct kind services which they rendered to us by aiding us with unflagging assiduity in the regulation, supervision, and amendment of our course of study, and enlightening us with their valuable advice from time to time. After having offered my thanks, I turn to the second part of the subject I have proposed to dwell upon.

My friends, the students of the College, most of you are well aware of the objects of this Institution : here you are taught to understand that the uses of Knowledge are numberless and sublime ; confined to no class, peculiar

to no country, but interesting to all upon whom the Deity hath bestowed the valuable and incomparable gift of reason. You know well that the possession of knowledge raises an individual a step nearer to that perfection for which our nature is intended, and the want of it sinks man to the level of that brute creation of which God has ordained him absolute lord. There is no one, however, who may not improve his condition by the acquisition of knowledge. To young men like us, it is a passport to preferment and good society. History, Poetry, Philosophy are sealed books to him who has neglected in his youth to acquire knowledge; and some of the most comfortable truths and most sublime illustrations of religion, which is our best companion in life, must of necessity be but imperfectly, if at all, comprehended by the ignorant man. As an instrument of self-advancement, as a companion who will never desert, and a friend who will never betray, I say to you my friends, "Get Knowledge."

There is an error very common among the people of our country, to guard you against which will be my next business. You should bear in mind that though a short desultory attention to books, lectures, and experiments may afford some superficial knowledge in various arts and sciences, yet they will render a student proficient in none: and this instead of producing a beneficial effect, renders him vain, arrogant, and presuming. Of this the poet was well aware, who says :

A little learning is a dangerous thing :
Drink deep or taste not the Pierian spring :
For shallow draughts intoxicate the brain,
While drinking largely sobers us again.

In the next place, I would call your attention to another characteristic feature of this Institution, a feature which distinguishes it from many others, and makes it more worthy of your attention, as in that respect it surpasses most other institutions of its kind.

In many Colleges there are Professorships for Law, Medicine, Science, and Arts, but for Theology none. Property and its rights are amply provided for, yet it and they will perish for ever. Reason is disciplined, and the secrets of nature yield to its well-trained methods ; yet reason is not the seat of happiness. Now, this Institution, while it performs the one, does not leave the other undone. Here learning and religion go hand in hand. It rightly deserves the name of being a seminary of sound learning and religious education. And I maintain strongly that on no other principles can a system of education be based, which shall be worthy of the name, or qualify its students to be good heads of families, good citizens, and good members of society. And the grounds on which I base my opinion are that you cannot develop a part of man's nature to the exclusion of the rest, without thereby injuring and deforming the whole. Man's nature is three-fold : it consists of body, soul, and spirit : therefore we should not attempt to separate them, or to develop any to the neglect of the rest, inasmuch as the three are so intimately blended together that they form but one whole. To educate the intellect and feelings with reference to the present life only, is like fitting out a ship with masts and sails and all manners of stores, but without compass or chart, so that, although the ship is strong and well equipped in all other respects, yet it is driven hither and thither by the waves of passion and prejudice, with no definite aim or purpose in life, till at last it is stranded upon the desert shore of hopeless infidelity. This Institution, while it trains the intellect, also attempts to correct the morals of its members. I need not say anything about the progress and popularity of this College, as it is fully evinced by a record of the University successes of its members, a statement of the number and conduct of its pupils, and of the course of study, which they have pursued.

And here I should say a word by way of justification,

if justification be needed in the eyes of my college friends, of the principles on which this Institution is conducted, of making religious instruction an essential part of the daily course of study. We occasionally hear men saying that the Missionaries are sailing under false colours, and that while they profess to confer a benefit on native society by offering them an English education, they are concealing their real object, which is to obtain fresh adherents to their creed. Not to be long about this, I have only to say that these men misunderstand altogether the principles and objects of all such institutions ; they do not remember that the Managers of such institutions seek the education of the whole man, not the intellect only, but both alike : and not with reference to this life alone, but as belonging to responsible immortal beings to whom this present life is but the mere threshold of existence. Again, there are others who maintain that the Government of this country, as well as Missionary bodies engaged in education, do not pursue a policy altogether unselfish, and that the motives which prompt the establishment of beneficial and popular institutions are not always purely benevolent. Now, although I believe that whatever tends to diffuse the blessings of peace and civilisation and moral elevation through India, in no small degree contributes also to the stability of the British rule, yet I cannot go along with these captious critics to demonstrate that only a modified gratitude is due for efforts not more philanthropic than profitable, not more beneficial to India than useful to England. Very ungracious must that heart be which can witness the ceremony which is taking place here this day, without emotions of gratitude for the exertions of Government and Missionary bodies to promote education in India. Who can calculate the blessings conferred on this country by thus throwing open to her sons the gates of the great " Republic of Letters," and welcoming them to all the treasures of intellectual and moral wealth ?

Hoping that my thanksgiving will meet the kind approbation of those to whom my thanks have been offered, and that the piece of advice contained in the few lines addressed to my fellow-students will produce a more salutary and beneficial effect upon them than any mere formal lectures or abstract studies can do, because it proceeds from one of their own number, I conclude with humble dependence upon God, and with an earnest desire that He will by His gracious mercy give me such moral strength and intellectual wisdom, as will enable me to discharge my duties in life in such an upright and conscientious manner as shall reflect honour and credit on the Institution in which I have been brought up, and shall in the end enable me to prove myself a student worthy of the name of St. John's College.

CHAPTER VII

Transition : 1879 to 1890

THE Edinburgh Missionary Conference of 1910 revealed a difference of opinion as to what should be the *primary* aim of a mission college. The questionnaire which had been submitted to experienced educationalists showed that the emphasis had changed somewhat since the days of Dr. Duff. At that time the aim had been the evangelization of the higher classes, and the Christianization of national life. While this aim was by no means to be abandoned, there was a significant growth of opinion in favour of giving the place of first importance "to the training of Christians, whether young converts or children of Christian parents, with a special emphasis on the importance of providing the Indian Church with teachers and leaders." This point of view was advocated by the veteran Dr. Ewing of Lahore, and by leading missionaries of a younger generation like the Rev. A. G. Fraser of Ceylon and the Rev. W. E. S. Holland of Allahabad.

It is thus remarkable that St. John's College, during this period of depression, was led, as it seemed, by force of circumstances to anticipate this newer point of view and to concentrate its activities upon the development of character in Christian students by giving them a more intensive training than they had hitherto received. This point of view is confirmed by

a letter written to Principal Haythornthwaite in 1892 by Mr. A. Thomson, a former Principal of the Agra College and a Scotsman of the old Covenanter type. He wrote :

St. John's College has lately undergone a great change, and is now starting on a new course. Hitherto the aim of the College has been chiefly the conversion of non-Christians, though the training of Christians was not neglected. But now the Christian community in Upper India has become so numerous that their education must be your first care. As a means of conversion, I believe the College will, in future, be more efficient than it has been in the past, for the increasing proportion of Christian students will give the whole place a Christian tone such as it could not have before. . . .

As a matter of fact, St. John's is becoming a Christian college in a new sense. To an old Indian like myself the change is probably more striking than it can be to yourself, and therefore I have urged you to get a good staff of teachers, and maintain a first-class college, primarily for Christian students, but admitting any non-Christians who may choose to attend. For this you will require in the College Department at least three Europeans as Professors, and in the School Department one, who might be called Chaplain (to the Christian Hostel), though he would do some teaching also. The door is now open, and if you enter with a force like that, you will do great things. But if you miss the opportunity and let the Christians wander away to better-manned but non-Christian colleges, the loss to the cause you have at heart will be serious.

This letter from a non-missionary layman made a very great impression on the mind of Mr. Haythornthwaite at the time when he was just entering upon his work at Agra, and the remarkable significance of the letter lies in the unconscious testimony it bears to the solid work that had been accomplished during those eighteen years of eclipse.

In the year 1879, the C.M.S. General Committee, in view of the need of retrenchment, was led to reformulate its educational policy. The Calcutta Report of that year stresses three points :

- (a) That certain colleges and schools be retained and made as efficient as possible.
- (b) That every attention should be paid to normal schools with a view to the utmost efficiency.
- (c) That much more attention should be given to the education of the children of Indian Christians.

Under this scheme St. John's College became the recognized centre for the North-West Provinces, and the number of Christian students was greatly increased. For the College not only provided F.A. classes, but was already equipped with a well-established Normal School under the able principalship of Mr. A. H. Wright.

As we have already seen, Normal classes were first started in 1866 on the initiative of Mr. R. J. Bell, but with the transfer of Mr. Wright and the general shortage of staff in the early 'seventies they seem to have lapsed. With the return of Mr. Wright in 1875 a Normal School or Training Institute for teachers was reopened. Mr. Vines wrote : "Beginning in July, 1875, with two students, the number had increased by December, 1876, to nine; and its Principal (Mr. A. H. Wright) had just received several applications for admission."

In this connection it is noteworthy that in 1877 had begun the long period of service of Mr. S. G. Thomas as Headmaster of the School. This was the first time that this post had been held by an Indian Christian, and Mr. Thomas's long and honoured tenure of the

post up to his retirement in 1914 reveals how abundantly he justified the appointment. In 1878 he was appointed Haileybury Lecturer and was relieved of some of his secular teaching so that he might give time to Theological study and teaching. Mr. Vines wrote in this connection : " In this way, besides the good he is doing in the College, he is gaining a power which I feel confident must be of further use in the Christian Church."

The increase in the number of Christian students soon made necessary considerable extensions of the Christian Hostel or boarding-house. Christian boys had, as we have seen, been accommodated from time to time as boarders from the early days ; but there had been no separate hostel built for them, and provision of any kind seems to have been discontinued during the 'seventies. A hostel was reopened in 1879 under Mr. Wright's care, at the special request of the North-West Provinces Conference. It started with four boys who paid Rs.5 a month for food and tuition. But in the following year a plot of ground was acquired adjoining the College for a building to accommodate fifty boarders. An additional wing was opened in 1882, the quadrangle was completed in 1888, and students from out-stations were encouraged by scholarships to come to Agra for the Matriculation and F.A. classes. Christian students attending the Medical School at the Thomason Hospital, across the road, were also encouraged to reside in the St. John's Hostel.

It is evident that this policy of giving special attention to the training of Christian students was an essentially wise one. At this time, unlike the present, it was very difficult for a Christian student to become

a graduate, owing to his lack of knowledge of a classical language, which was then a compulsory subject for the F.A. examination. Principal Lloyd, in his Report for 1879, drew attention to this point:

It is a great drawback which cannot be too often mentioned that Christian boys are, with hardly any exception, sadly behind their class-fellows in Persian and Sanskrit. We noticed it markedly in almost every one newly admitted, and by the present University rules it is generally fatal to those who could otherwise read beyond the Entrance examination, after which one of the two becomes a *sine qua non*.

Mr. Wright, in his Report for the same year, wrote in a discouraging spirit of the work of the Normal School. It was largely ineffective because of the low standard of education which the Christian boys had previously received :

At the end of 1879 I had hoped to send out three more teachers, but only one was sent out, the other two had failed to pass the final examination, and so have been kept on for another year. . . . Admissions are few. . . . Speaking of admissions, I do not mean that there have been no applications, but those who have applied have failed in the preliminary examinations. Our late Secretary hoped, when the School was started, that it would attract the sons of our well-to-do Christians. This hope has not been realized, and I am not sanguine that it will. Further, it seems difficult to combine a thorough Normal School training, as it is understood in England, with a University course, as the latter demands all the time and energies of the students.

Apparently the Normal School was discontinued when its Principal, Mr. Wright, was transferred in 1884. In that year he was ordained, and subsequently took up work at Benares. It is evident that much of the life and activity of the College during

these years can be traced to his energy and missionary spirit ; and he retained a keen interest in the College when, in later years, he became the honoured and trusted Secretary of the North-West Provinces and Central Provinces Mission.

In the year 1880, Principal Lloyd could report that the numbers in the College had reached 400, the lower School being full to overflowing. The standard of results was better :

Four students went up for the F.A. examination, and two passed in the second division ; and for the Entrance, out of seven, four passed successfully, of whom three were in the first division—a better result than we have had for many years. It is an interesting fact, in connection with the College department, that three out of the seven undergraduates are Christians, and they are certainly in most subjects at the top of their class.

Mr. Lloyd was only Principal for two years, after which he returned to England and came back later to take supervision of the district missionary work. For three years, 1880 to 1883, the Rev. Robert John Bell, who had been ordained in 1879, returned from Calcutta to be Principal ; and there is no doubt that he did much to uphold the reputation of the College through these difficult times. He had to return to England, however, in 1883, on account of ill-health ; and though he returned for a few more years' service at Benares, he finally retired under medical orders in 1887. The presence of Mr. Wright during this period must have given a most valuable element of continuity, though he had to return to England for a time in 1881 owing to the death of his wife. But we find a constant succession of Vice-Principals who only occupied their position for a year or two each ;

and their time at Agra appears in many cases to have been regarded rather as a preparation for work elsewhere, than as a strength to the educational work of the College.

The turn of the tide may be said to have begun with the coming of the Rev. G. E. A. Pargiter as Principal in 1883, and is more especially evident, year by year, from 1885 when the Rev. T. F. Robathan was appointed Vice-Principal. This proved a happy combination which continued until 1891, when Mr. Pargiter retired. Mr. Pargiter brought to the work a keen missionary spirit, and an abundance of youthful energy, while Mr. Robathan was most successful in winning the confidence and affection of the Christian students who were under his charge in the Hostel.

There were immediate signs that the steady work of the preceding years was coming to fruition. Students were at this time being stirred to fresh thought on religious matters by the teaching of the Arya Samaj, the reform movement in Hinduism founded by Swami Dayanand. Mr. Lloyd had started evangelistic lectures for the Old Boys of the School and College in Agra, and during 1879-80 he had employed part of the Haileybury grant to pay the expenses of the Rev. Mr. Banerjea, B.D., of the American Mission, for this purpose. In 1884-5 we find the Vice-Principal, Mr. Henry Lewis, carrying on these lectures, while the Christian masters and boys took part in bazaar preaching with the encouragement of Principal Pargiter. Mr. S. G. Thomas, the Headmaster, and Mr. Lewis took a keen part in these activities.

In this same year an old boy of the School, Har-

Saran by name, returned to the College. He had previously been deeply influenced by the Christian teaching, but had left and gone to the Punjab. At Lahore he got into touch with the missionaries there and was baptized. Mr. Pargiter wrote of his return : " Without any exaggeration I may say that the coming of Har Saran into our midst, as a Christian convert of St. John's, has brought a world of new life and power along with it. The very atmosphere of our dusty old College seems changed."

Before the end of the session Har Saran had so influenced another boy, a relation of his, Devi Prasad, that the latter went to Mr. Pargiter and asked for baptism. His relations, suspecting his Christian leanings, determined to withdraw him from the College and forbade him to read the Bible or to hold any intercourse with Christians. But on Mr. Pargiter's return after the summer holidays, Devi Prasad renewed his request and was baptized under the name of Isa Charan. He had to suffer a great deal of persecution from his relations, and was sent first to Gorakhpur and later to the Punjab. His family, failing to persuade the boy himself, brought a court case against the missionaries, trying to establish by means of a forged horoscope that he was under age. But as it was proved that the boy was over sixteen and had accepted baptism of his own free will, the case was dismissed.

The incident caused no small stir in Agra, for there had been no case of a student being baptized while at the College since the days of Bishop French. Mr. Pargiter wrote :

Very often our lads and the non-Christians outside say that only the poor become Christians, and that they

become Christians only for the sake of the loaves and fishes. Isa Charan's case has puzzled them not a little, for they see plainly that in a worldly point of view he gains nothing, but rather loses, and yet they seem unable to grasp the truth, that when Christ speaks to the heart of any one in love and power, such an one can count all things but loss, and take up his cross and follow Christ.

Along with these signs of the spiritual influence of the College, there were other signs of growing life and activity. In this same year the College was visited by the Viceroy, the Marquis of Ripon, and an address was presented to him in the College Hall. About this time the Government College had been transferred to the charge of a local committee, being called thenceforward the Agra College, and it is clear that the Hindu leaders of Agra were vigorously pushing its interests in rivalry with St. John's. Yet the report for 1887 begins with a most encouraging statement :

The College classes have been larger during the past year than for many years previously, *viz.* sixteen in the second year and nine in the first year. Of these sixteen, six are Christians.

In this report Principal Pargiter referred to two students who had been obliged to enter another, non-missionary, college, but who still came to him for spiritual instruction. Referring to the difference in moral tone, one of these students said to Mr. Pargiter: "I find, sir, that I must either make no friends among the students, and keep to the principles you taught me, or else leave those principles and be friends with them. Unless I read my Bible every day and come now and then to you, sir, I feel inclined to do as they do; but hitherto I have kept to myself." Mr. Pargiter added :

This also is the testimony of the other student. Such testimony from Hindu students shows plainly what is the effect produced on the minds of boys by regular Scripture teaching, and by constant contact with Christian men. These two young men are types of thousands in India who are Christians if they are anything, but who lack the moral courage to brave the tyranny of caste.

Mr. Robathan in this same year wrote regarding the Christian Hostel, which, as we have seen, was rapidly growing in size and importance :

From January to July we had Mr. Mumtaj Masih for house-father ; but as the work of a master in St. John's College together with the house-fathership was too much for one man, we took on Silas Brown, who has only two hours' work a day outside the Boarding House, in teaching Scripture at the Delhi Gate School. The Boarding House has been full during the year, and it is well that the new wing is in process of erection, for we shall need more accommodation.

This tone of growing optimism was even more apparent in the following year, 1888. Principal Pargiter wrote :

The College Department did very well in the F.A. examinations of the Calcutta University held in March. We sent up six candidates and passed four ; and the Director of Public Instruction in his Annual Report, when contrasting the results of the different schools and colleges, says : "The success of the F.A. students from St. John's College, Agra, deserves a special notice." One passed in the second division, and three in the third division ; of these two were Christians.

It should be noted that this was the last year in which the College sent up candidates for the examinations of the Calcutta University. A new University had now been founded at Allahabad, and

the affiliation of St. John's, up to the F.A. standard, was transferred from Calcutta to Allahabad.

Mr. Pargiter then went on to say :

These two are now reading for the B.A. Degree—Bose at the Agra College, while residing in our Boarding House, and Jeremy at the Muir Central College, Allahabad. Another lad who passed (a Hindu) is also reading at the Agra College. It is a great pity that we have thus to send out our students to non-mission institutions to finish their graduation course, instead of being able to keep them under our instruction right up to the B.A.

In this year, the Chapel of the Christian Hostel, the earliest form of a College Chapel, was opened by Mr. Robathan. He wrote :

Our little chapel holds about forty. We have service in it morning and evening in the cold weather, and evening only in the hot, on account of early School. Three evenings a week we have short addresses ; the Principal kindly takes one, and the others are taken by the house-father (Mr. S. Brown) and myself. On Sunday, at 11 a.m., we have a Bible reading in the chapel for the boys who know English, and others go to the parish Sunday school, conducted by Miss Bland, the zenana missionary. . . . On Sunday evenings after dinner, the bigger boys come to our bungalow for conversation, hymn-singing and reading. We are reading Ragland's Memoir. We trust and pray that by all these we may influence them for good.

In the following year there was again a most encouraging Report. The Principal wrote :

In commenting upon the results of the F.A. Examination in his Annual Report, Mr. White, C.S., Director of Public Instruction, says : "The success of the F.A. Classes attached to St. John's College, Agra, deserves official notice again this year." This is the third time we have been honourably mentioned in this Report

during the past three years, and we are glad to see that Government notices and appreciates our good work. (Out of fourteen candidates, nine had passed the F.A. examination.)

The School Department had also maintained its high reputation of the previous year, by passing ten out of fourteen candidates in the Matriculation examination. In this year it is recorded that the Bishop of Calcutta visited the institution twice during the year, and addressed the Christian students. Also that Mr. Robathan "presented twelve candidates from the Hostel for confirmation."

The year 1890 was Principal Pargiter's last year of office, and in this year he was elected a Fellow of the Allahabad University. He must have been greatly cheered by the success of the last three years, but the good work still continued :

I am thankful to report that at the F.A. Examination we kept up the standard of the College, and obtained a very good place among the colleges of these Provinces. Nine students passed out of the thirteen, one in the second division, and eight in the third. Of these nine, no less than five were Christians, a larger number of Christians than have ever passed before from any college in North India.

In this same year, 1890, Principal Pargiter made a further bold experiment by introducing the hostel system for the benefit of non-Christian students, who hitherto had found lodgings in the city, and often in unwholesome surroundings which were detrimental alike to their mental and to their moral life. There was a vacant bungalow, which had formerly been used for a girls' boarding-house, closely adjoining the mission bungalow by the Drummond Road in Haripurbat, which for long had come to be used as the

Principal's bungalow. (The old "Principal's Bungalow" by the College was occupied by the Vice-Principal or Warden of the Christian Hostel.) This was now opened as a Hindu and Moslem Hostel. It marks the beginning of a new movement, which later became such a marked feature of University life under Lord Curzon's Commission reforms. Mr. Pargiter wrote of his relations with these early hostellers :

I have often had the students over to my house to sing hymns (*bhajans*), and to listen to Bible exposition, and to join in prayer, while I have often gone among them, gathered them round me, and sung with them, talked to them and prayed with them. They have been always very glad to come over here, or for one to go over to them, and I have had as free intercourse with them as if they were Christians.

It must have been a great satisfaction to Principal Pargiter to know before he left India that his persistent request for the raising of the College to its old status of 1862, had not been in vain.¹ In his Report of 1889, he wrote .

It is a matter of much thankfulness to me personally and of joy to the Christian community in the N.W. Provinces generally, that the Committee have determined to raise the College to the B.A. standard. This will be a great gain to Christians, and will increase very much the spiritual influence of the College, as we can keep boys and young men under Christian influence until they go out into the world.

¹ In the Calcutta Report of the North India Mission for 1890, it is stated : "The most notable feature in the educational work during the year has been the decision of the Parent Committee to raise the standard of St John's College, Agra, and so to add to the strength of its staff that it will be able to teach students up to the B.A."

Principal Pargiter went on to review his seven years of service in the College as follows :

We have done nothing thrilling or romantic, capable of making a strong impression upon the public imagination. Our work consists rather in the daily performance of duty under very prosaic conditions, and its results are seen, not so much in striking conversions as in the secret moulding of the Indian mind towards a more intelligent appreciation of Christ and His Gospel. . . .

With regard to the work itself, there has been steady advance all along the line. The College Class students have increased from eight to thirty-three, the percentage of passes in the F.A. Classes have averaged ninety per cent. The Christian Boarding House has been doubled as regards accommodation, and its inmates have increased from twenty-five to forty-three. A non-Christian Boarding House has been opened with ten inmates.

When the B.A. Classes, which I have pleaded for ever since I came here, are opened, the College will be in full working order, and will only need the strengthening of the present machinery, and not the originating of anything new. One feels, therefore, that one's labour has not been in vain, and though I have had the privilege of baptizing only one convert, yet I feel that I have filled a useful post, and that my colleagues and I have been occupying this part of the mission field for our Commander and King, and have distinctly seen His blessing resting upon it.

CHAPTER VIII

Renaissance : 1890 to 1900

WE have seen that the College was now ripe for a return to the status of a First Grade College, of which it had been deprived in 1874. The proud privilege of inaugurating the return of this *régime* was entrusted to the Rev. J. P. Haythornthwaite, by his appointment to the Principalship of the College in September, 1890. He was at that time Organizing Secretary for the Church Missionary Society in the South of Ireland, and was residing in the city of Cork. Having graduated in Moral Science in 1883 at St. John's College, Cambridge, and having had educational experience, he had ventured to make an offer of service on August 26, 1890, provided that no more suitable candidate was available, and the Rev. F. E. Wigram, the Honorary Secretary, writing on September 18, said : " You will have heard by telegram that your offer of service for the principalship was thankfully accepted." On November 18, he received his Official Instructions from the C.M.S. Committee, from which the following extracts may be found interesting :

The Committee have designated you to the important post of Principal of St. John's College, Agra. Particularly important just now, as it has been decided to raise that institution to the standard of a First Grade College, teaching up to the B.A. degree.

At present there is, we believe, no missionary college of this standard in the North-West Provinces. The

consequence is that students, Christian and non-Christian, who have taken their education in missionary institutions up to a particular point—perhaps Matriculation or F.A.—have to leave those missionary institutions at that point, and take the rest of their education at Government, or perhaps even Hindu colleges.

St. John's will now, under its new standard, draw to it students, Christian and non-Christian, at present studying in other educational institutions in the North-West Provinces, and desiring to complete their education at a First Grade Missionary College. It may also attract to it students of other missionary institutions than our own in the North-West Provinces. Thus the existing Hostel or Boarding House for Christian students in connection with St. John's will assume larger proportions and attain much greater importance, and probably a Hostel for non-Christian students will be found to be a necessity also.

Shortly after receiving these Instructions, Mr. Haythornthwaite embarked at Tilbury in the old S.S. *Chusan*, *en route* for Calcutta. After a pleasant voyage, during which he officiated as chaplain, Colombo was reached. Here, having learnt that his ticket would be available for the next steamer a fortnight later, he left the *Chusan* and determined to employ the time in making a rapid survey of the C.M.S. Missions in Ceylon and South India. A most illuminating insight into Indian conditions was thus attained, and after a very strenuous fortnight, the voyage to Calcutta was resumed. Here he was given a warm welcome by the Rev. Arthur Clifford, then C.M.S. Secretary, who subsequently became first Bishop of the Lucknow Diocese, in which Agra was included.

Leaving Calcutta by train a few days later, he broke the journey at Allahabad, where a Diocesan

Conference was being held under Bishop Johnson of Calcutta. There was a large gathering of chaplains and missionaries of the North-West Provinces, and here Mr. Haythornthwaite met the Rev. G. E. A. Pargiter, the outgoing Principal of St. John's College, the Rev. T. F. Robathan, and others with whom he was to have a close association in work in the years to come. A few days before Christmas the Conference came to a close, and in the company of Mr. Pargiter, Mr. Haythornthwaite reached Agra; and there for a few weeks he was the guest of Mr. and Mrs. Pargiter in the old Mission House, Drummond Road.

At the time of the new Principal's arrival, at the end of 1890, there were twenty-nine students in the first and second years of the College proper, *i.e.* the F.A., or First Arts section, 345 in the Collegiate High School section, and 110 in the Primary Branch Schools in the city—altogether 484 boys under the control of the Principal. But almost immediately there was an encouraging increase. The number of college students was doubled in 1891, and by the year 1895 had reached one hundred.

Classes for the B.A. and LL.B. degrees of the Allahabad University were opened in 1891, as well as Law classes for the High Court and Pleader examinations. As these law courses could be read conjointly with the Arts courses in the College, they at once attracted many students. In 1893 there were twenty-three students reading for the High Court, and forty-nine for the Pleader examination; and the following year two students successfully passed the LL.B. examination. In 1893 affiliation was also secured for the M.A. course of the Allahabad University.

In 1893 classes in telegraphy and signalling were

opened in connection with the High School section, in order to provide for students who had passed the Middle Examination a training for useful careers in the Railway service. These classes were continued until 1896, when the demand for such training seems to have fallen off.

Steady increase in numbers continued during these years in spite of an equally steady raising of the fees charged. (The fees charged in 1893 were only Rs.3 p.m. for the B.A. classes, and Rs.2 for the F.A. classes. By 1901 they had been raised to Rs.5 and Rs.4 respectively.) This result was no doubt largely due to the success immediately achieved in the University examinations, more especially in the degree examinations. Four out of the first five candidates for the B.A. passed in 1893, four out of six in 1894, and fifteen out of eighteen in 1895 ; and of these twenty-three graduates, two passed in the First Division and seventeen in the Second Division. Bansi Dhar Sharma secured Honours in English Literature in 1894, and two years later stood third in the University in that subject in the M.A. list. Another student, Hori Lal, secured double Honours in 1895, being first in the University in Persian and third in English. Two years later he secured fifth place in the M.A. examination. Such creditable results were partly due, no doubt, to the individual attention which could be given in the teaching where the classes were as yet small. In the F.A. and Entrance examinations the standard remained comparatively low.

Many of these early graduates achieved considerable repute in public life. Thus Mr. Joseph J. Ghose, M.A., subsequently studied Syriac and other Oriental languages in the American College at Beyrouth, and was awarded the degree of Doctor of Literature by

the Edinburgh University. The Hon. Syed Alay Nabi, B.A., Khan Bahadur, rose to a position of influence and responsibility in the Municipality of Agra and in the political life of the Province. Others achieved distinction in the legal and teaching professions.

There had been a steady increase in the staff, and particularly in the proportion of the Christian members. Altogether we find the following: In 1890, four Professors in the College, one being a Christian; twenty Masters in the School, eight being Christians. In 1897, thirteen Professors in the College, eight being Christians; twenty-six Masters in the School, ten being Christians.

When sanctioning the reopening of the Degree classes, the C.M.S. Committee had pledged itself to provide a third missionary member of the staff, and the Rev. Dr. J. N. Carpenter was sent out as the first reinforcement in 1890. In 1898 the Principal's hands were greatly strengthened by the arrival, after a period of language study at Lucknow, of the Rev. H. B. Durrant. His ability as a teacher soon became widely recognized, and gave to the College a stability and confidence, while it won for him a reputation which probably no individual member of the English staff had been able to achieve since the spacious days of Bishop French.

Building accommodation during this period soon became a difficult problem, owing to the number of applications for admission both to the College and to its hostels. The building known as the Lower School, opened in 1868 and consisting of one main hall and four class-rooms, had for some time been inconveniently crowded, and certain classes had overflowed into the Main Hall of the College. In 1895 new

land was acquired adjacent to the college compound, and on this site a new Collegiate School, consisting of ten class-rooms, was erected in 1896. This released the previous Lower School building for the additional accommodation required by the College. The school hall was divided by a screen wall, two-thirds being utilized as a chapel, and one-third as a Science theatre. Of the four class-rooms, two were already occupied by the Telegraph classes, and the other two were devoted to Biology and Chemistry. Not many years later all four class-rooms were devoted to the Science Department of the College.

The architect and works manager of these buildings was Major Aubrey Gibbon, R.E., then resident in Agra. As an old Haileyburian this was to him a labour of love, and the College owed much to him for his keen interest in its welfare. The buildings were opened at a special service of dedication held in the College Hall on November 2, 1896. On this occasion the Rev. A. H. Wright, then C.M.S. Secretary, delivered a speech in which, as an old member of the staff, he traced the history and development of the College from personal knowledge from 1864.

In 1897 the Main Hall of the College was thoroughly redecorated. A marble tablet containing the names of the Principals and the dates of their service was placed above the central dais,¹ and above this was hung a handsome carbon portrait of Bishop French, which had been presented by his widow. Carved panellings were also fixed in four of the alcoves, two on each side, on which were inscribed the names of distinguished graduates and athletes.

The chapel was opened in 1898, and was daily used by the members of the Christian Hostel.

¹ It is now placed over the entrance arch in the new College.

Members of the staff, English and Indian, also met for a brief service in the middle of the daily session. The furniture of the chapel was made in the S.P.G. workshops at Cawnpore. This chapel was solemnly set apart for sacred use by the Bishop of Lucknow on January 22, 1901.

In this same period the accommodation of the Christian Hostel was brought up to 120, by the completion in 1896 of another wing. A swimming-bath was added, and improved lavatories built. Water was laid on to the Hindu Hostel for drinking, washing and cooking, and the ground in front was laid out for cricket and other games.

The presence of senior Christian students reading in the College quickly reacted on the life of the Christian Hostel. For several years there had been various kinds of Christian work, such as bazaar and village preaching, Sunday-school work, etc., conducted by the Christian hostellers, under the name of the Voluntary Workers' Band, and, later, the Students' Volunteer Missionary Union. After a Conference of the S.V.M.U. held at Allahabad in March, 1897, which was attended by the Rev. J. M. Challis and several Christian students, these activities were reorganized as a branch of the Y.M.C.A. A weekly students' prayer meeting was instituted on Friday evenings, and fresh energy was put into the work. In August, 1899, the Y.M.C.A. started a monthly magazine, edited and managed by the Christian students, which was taken over and continued as a College Magazine from the beginning of 1900. John S. C. Banerji was President of the Y.M.C.A. in these first years, while the names of Campbell H. Jonah, Edward T. Bobb, and S. J. Edwin appear among the officers.

As yet there had been little or no corporate life in the College beyond what the students provided for themselves in the two hostels. But at the beginning of the Michaelmas term, 1894, the Literary Association and Debating Society was formed, of which Prof. Joseph J. Ghose was first Secretary. Debates were held regularly, and the House of Commons rules were adopted so that members might become acquainted with the methods of parliamentary procedure. In 1900 this society was going strong, the Report stating that " eighteen meetings were held as against thirteen in the previous year."

In the year 1890 a Temperance Association was formed in the College, at the instance of the Rev. J. Evans, and by 1899 it had 363 members. It received further stimulus from a visit of Mr. W. S. Caine, M.P., in 1896, and had an enthusiastic Secretary in Mr. B. K. Dutta, B.A.

In addition to the regular courses of Haileybury Lectures, which were still given by the Headmaster, Mr. S. G. Thomas, special lectures on religious and moral subjects were given by members of the staff and visitors, generally on Saturday mornings. For this purpose a division was made between the Lower School, for which lectures were in Urdu, and the College and Upper School, which had their lectures usually in English. Public lectures were also arranged from time to time in the evening in the College Hall.

Steps were also taken to improve the College Library. The S.P.C.K., which was already giving a grant for scholarships for Christian students, made a special grant of books in 1899. The library was catalogued, a set of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* secured, and a number of good papers and journals supplied to the reading-room, which was

accessible to students daily from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m.

St. John's College had not hitherto acquired any reputation in the field of athletics, but from 1890 onwards physical culture and manly sports became an integral part of the educational system in College and School. The attitude of the Principal is indicated in the following extract from the report for 1897 : " Too long have the Universities of India been content to turn out *effeminate book-worms* by providing purely intellectual courses, and paying no attention to the physical and out-of-classroom life of the student. . . . In St. John's College, all students are expected to take part in games, and not to lounge or moon over books all day long when lectures are over." The Rev. T. F. Robathan and the Rev. J. M. Paterson were largely responsible for the development of this new spirit of athleticism ; and the students of the Christian Hostel readily responded and took a leading part in the teams. Christian students of the college were encouraged to enlist in the Agra Volunteer Corps, in which the Rev. J. M. Paterson held a commission as Lieutenant.

By the end of the decade a considerable advance had been made. A spacious and suitable recreation-ground was secured in 1891 at Haripurbat in Civil Lines (near the Principal's Bungalow and the site of the future new college buildings), and at once became an attractive centre for cricket and sports. The first *pakka* tennis court was laid down in 1897. From the year 1894 a regimental gymnastic instructor was engaged who held classes twice a week, and a vaulting-horse and horizontal and parallel bars were provided.

From the year 1895 the University of Allahabad organized an annual tournament among its affiliated

colleges, both in cricket and in athletic sports, and this gave a further stimulus. In this year the college team was in the semi-finals in cricket; while in the athletic tournament the college sent five representatives, and of these R. W. Thomas (eldest son of the Headmaster) was successful in winning the Silver Medal as first prize in the Mile Race, and J. A. Ponniah obtained second place in the Pole-jumping. These two athletes secured first prizes in the same two competitions in 1897, when the University Tournament was held in Agra; and the College secured both first and second prizes in gymnastics.

The School was achieving similar successes in the Government Inter-school Athletic Tournament, and by the year 1900 both School and College were rapidly rising to a leading position. The members of the English staff all played games constantly with the boys, and in this way St. John's boys had learnt to "play cricket" in the widest sense of the term.

During these years it became the custom to hold a public exhibition of college sports, followed by tea and refreshments, and concluding with prize distribution, reports, and speeches. These annual functions became very popular and were largely attended by both European and Indian gentlemen. On December 21, 1894, the distribution of prizes, which was made by Mrs. Morton, wife of the General commanding the station, was followed by a Christmas concert of Indian and English music, vocal and instrumental. In 1896, in addition to the Sports, there was a fine display of Gymnastics by Har Nandan Pande, and a Bengali cudgelling match in which much skill was exhibited.

CHAPTER IX

Expanding Life : 1901 to 1911

THE year 1904 in many ways marked the opening of a new era for India. The result of the Russo-Japanese war had profound reactions throughout the East, stimulating and revealing new national life. The Orient could no longer be regarded as stagnant and impassive: it was throbbing with new life-movements, impatient for expression in every direction, and confident of great destinies.

In the sphere of education, the universities and colleges of India had been called by Lord Curzon to submit to a searching Commission of Enquiry as to their efficiency in fulfilling the objects and ideals for which they existed. There was a general feeling abroad that after fifty years of University education, the average Indian graduate was not a product of which a University had any reason to be proud, and that he compared badly with graduates of Western universities. The Recommendations of the Commission, published in 1904, marked a determined effort to make the Indian Universities abodes of learning rather than manufactories of graduates.

Briefly, on the practical side, the new reforms sought to lift Indian University Education to a higher intellectual and moral plane in, at any rate, three directions :

- (a) Adequate management and staff, to secure teaching in place of cramming;
- (b) Adequate buildings and equipment for the teaching of Arts and Sciences, in place of the utterly inadequate accommodation which prevailed in many so-called colleges;
- (c) Adequate hostel accommodation and supervision for the students, in place of cheap and unwholesome lodgings.

St. John's College was visited by the Commission in 1902, and, as we have seen, its recommendations had been in many ways already anticipated. There was an immediate attempt made to take further advantage of the reforms; and the developments of the remaining period of Mr. Haythornthwaite's principalship may be reviewed from this standpoint.

i. Management and Staff. The "Allahabad Corresponding Committee" of the C.M.S. was recognized as the local governing body of the College. But by 1910 the growing extent and importance of this responsibility was seen to call for a special committee which should meet in Agra. The College Governing Body was duly constituted, with the approval of the mission authorities, having the Bishop of Lucknow as Chairman, the Principal as Secretary, and representatives of the Mission, the Staff, and of local gentry as members.

In the same period the Principal was coming increasingly to realize the unwieldy character of the institution which he was called upon to manage. In the first ten years of the century the number of students in School and College had more than doubled, and another department, that of Business Training, had been added. The charge of 260 college

students, 830 boys in the High School, and 450 more boys in the five Branch Schools, was obviously too much for one man. For some years Mr. Haythornthwaite had been pressing this on the Mission authorities, and it was a great satisfaction to him when on January 1, 1910, the formal separation in management between College and School was effected, the High School and Branch Schools being placed under the independent management of the Rev. Norman H. Tubbs.¹

Already in the year 1902, the teaching staff of the College had been strengthened by the addition of Mr. Walter K. Bonnaud, and the Rev. Dr. William Huntly. Mr. Bonnaud had recently retired from the principalship of the Meerut College and came to Agra with a reputation for sound method and successful teaching in English. He remained a much respected and trusted member of the College staff until his death seventeen years later. Dr. Huntly's teaching work ranged from Philosophy and English Literature to Biology; but he left his chief mark in the development of the young Science Department. He was also in medical charge of the College hostels, and continued the supervision of medical students started by an independent Scottish Mission in Agra. In this way he was brought into close contact with successive generations of hostellers whom he loved as sons.

Before the close of the period the mission staff had been further increased by the arrival of Messrs. Arthur W. Davies and P. F. Holland in 1908, and of Dr. Garfield Williams in 1910. Moreover the Princi-

¹ Now Bishop of Rangoon.

pal had quickly grasped the possibilities of the newly started Short Service scheme, under which young graduates of the English Universities could be engaged for a period of two or three years' service on the staffs of Indian colleges. In the 1907-8 session he was already in correspondence with certain Oxford and Cambridge men, through the Rev. W. E. S. Holland, who happened to be on furlough that year; and before he left, the first generation of Short Service Men was already finding its place in the College life. In July, 1909, there was a Quiet Day for the Christian staff before the opening of the session, the addresses being given by the Rev. W. E. S. Holland; and in the course of that year we find the unmarried Christian members of the staff forming what was called from that time the Chummery. It was first located in the old College Bungalow, and the original members were Messrs. H. B. Durrant, N. H. Tubbs, A. W. Davies, Philip F. Holland, Ross Macvicar, and J. Talibuddin.

In the staff as a whole there was a marked improvement both in numbers and in qualifications. In 1900 there was a College staff of twelve, of whom only five possessed a Master's degree. In 1910, there were nineteen in all, of whom ten possessed English University degrees or the Master's degree of an Indian University; eleven of these were Christians, eight being Europeans. The Science teaching was organized as a separate department, with Dr. Garfield Williams as Superintendent, and there were coming to be separate Professors responsible for the various subjects of teaching. The formation of a Provident Fund in 1909 contributed to the sense of security, and to a greater continuity in the staff.

In the same period the College had launched out on another line of teaching, for on September 15, 1902, a Business Department was opened for instruction in Shorthand, Typewriting and Business Methods. The pioneer in this new development had been the American Methodist College at Lucknow, and the first Manager of the new Department at Agra was Mr. Fred. J. John, who had secured the Diploma of the Lucknow Institute. The value of the new branch of training was from the first recognized by the Provincial Government; and an initial grant for typewriters was given as well as a recurring annual grant for maintenance. The subject was not at this time recognized by the University.

In February, 1906, this Department was given fresh vigour and strength by the arrival of Mr. Louis Steele, F.I.A., who had given up an important position in business in London to devote his gifts to missionary education. It was under his guidance that Commercial Training became an increasingly important side of the College teaching.

On the administrative side of the College itself, the Principal had been fortunate in securing in 1903 the services, as Secretary, of Mr. John F. Fanthome. Mr. Fanthome was a retired Government officer and had been a student of the College under its first Principal, Bishop French. He was in charge of the College office and library, and contributed greatly to its efficiency until his death in 1914.

2. Buildings and Equipment. Along with this rapid extension of the College in numbers, in staff, and in organization, there was no proportionate improvement in accommodation or in provision for the rising standards and demands of the education

given. Even after the formal separation in management of College and School, the two institutions continued to work in the congested area of the old buildings in the city. In 1908 we find the Principal compelled to rent a large house in the vicinity to accommodate some 250 boys of the lower school classes ; and the following year College and School assembled at different hours of the day, so that each section might have the use of all the class-rooms.

The Science work of the College in particular suffered seriously from the inadequacy of room and equipment. Affiliation to the B.Sc. standard was obtained in 1903 in Physics and Chemistry, and Biology was added in 1906. But in view of the severe criticisms of the inspectors, it was with difficulty that the Principal secured a further extension of the affiliation for two years in 1909. In that year a small gas plant was installed for the use of the laboratories and various minor improvements were carried out.

It was becoming clear that no further addition on the original site of the College could meet the situation. At one time serious consideration seems to have been given to a suggestion that the School section be closed and the resources of the mission concentrated on the College department. But in the Principal's mind there was rising the vision of a new College on the site by the Drummond Road, to which playing-fields and hostels were already attracting more and more of the life and activity of the institution. As early as the Report of 1906 we find the suggestion that " the best solution of the difficulty would be to hand over all class-rooms in the present buildings in the city to the School and Business Departments, and to build the College and Laboratories on a new site

on the Drummond Road." By the time that Mr. Haythornthwaite was writing his Report for 1909-10, he could say: "This scheme is still to a great extent *in nubibus*, and yet there is no doubt as to its ultimate realization." This transformation of a hope into a practical certainty was largely due to the arrival on the scene of the Rev. Arthur W. Davies, who not only took from the first a keen interest in the scheme, but also made a large initial donation to the building fund. In the summer of 1910 Mr. Haythornthwaite was in England on furlough, placing his plans before the C.M.S.; before he left Agra for the last time on September 21, 1911, the walls of the new hostels were rising and the site was prepared for the foundations of the College building.

3. *Hostel Accommodation.* We have remarked that in regard to residential accommodation for its students, St. John's College had already anticipated the strong recommendations of the Commission. The Old Hindu Hostel had been in existence for more than a decade; but, as the Principal wrote in 1903: "The present Hostel only provides for forty Hindu students, and now that the Education Commission has pronounced so strongly upon the necessity of the residential qualification, further extensions can no longer be delayed. It would be a strange anomaly if a mission college failed to co-operate heartily by prompt action in a recommendation so calculated to improve and elevate the morals of Indian students." Two wings were consequently added at the back of the old bungalow in 1904 and 1905, and an upper storey added in 1907, providing rooms for some ninety students in all. But, in the appeal for funds

which the Principal had issued in 1904, he had included provision for two new hostels, one for Mohammedan students and another for Hindus—the whole cost of this scheme amounting to Rs.75,000 (about £5,000). By the year 1907 two small bungalows had been acquired and adapted to form a Mohammedan Hostel, and the central portion of the New Hindu Hostel was ready. Government had given the section of *nazul*¹ land on the east of the Drummond Road, between the Bharatpur Road and the newly-constructed branch of the East Indian Railway, together with building grants amounting to Rs.25,000 and a grant for levelling the ground for a playing-field ; some Rs.26,000 had been raised by private subscriptions including £30 from Haileybury College and the remainder of the cost was met out of surplus income and savings. Thus the College was able to give accommodation to 220 students in four hostels, three of which were situated near the Principal's Bungalow on the Drummond Road site, while the Christian Hostel remained by the old College buildings in the city.

By this time, however, we find that hostels had already been denounced by some critics in India as "nurseries of seditious unrest," and remarks had been made in Parliament which seemed to question the wisdom of their institution. At St. John's it was realized that the need was not merely for building accommodation, but for a strong corporate life and wise supervision ; and that, if these could be secured, there might be in the hostel system, rightly used, "possibilities of character training and nation building such as never existed before" (Report,

¹i.e. Government property.

1908). The Oxford and Cambridge Hostel at Allahabad, the creation of the Rev. W. E. S. Holland, had set a standard for the Province and had shown what might be accomplished in a well-planned and well-ordered hostel life.

The first condition for this was the close association of members of the staff, as Wardens, with the hostellers. The Principal himself was at this time Warden of the Old Hindu Hostel, which closely adjoined his bungalow. In the central portion of the New Hindu Hostel quarters were provided for a resident Warden, and under the wardenship of the Rev. H. B. Durrant this hostel quickly became a centre of college social life. In 1908 Mr. P. F. Holland became Warden of the Mohammedan Hostel, and the Principal could write later of how "the hostellers were gradually brought into such a state of pleasant and harmonious relationship, as to resemble the kind of unity which exists in a well-organized regimental mess. The Warden daily dined with his hostellers, and succeeded in impressing upon them the desirability of living a cordial corporate life."

Rules for the conduct of hostel life were carefully drawn up, and the Monitor system was introduced with great benefit. Social life began to flourish not only in each hostel, but among the three hostels situated on Drummond Road, and a system of inter-hostel matches encouraged the use of the additional playing-fields in that locality. In the year 1910 an attempt was made to secure greater supervision of the conditions of life of the Day Students, and Mr. Durrant became the first Day Students' Warden, Mr. Bonnau having taken his place in the New Hostel.

But before the end of this period there came about two very important changes of policy in regard to the hostel system. In the first place the separation of School and College required, what for other reasons had become recognized as most desirable, the provision of *separate* residential accommodation for College students and for schoolboys. In regard to the non-Christian hostels the exclusion of schoolboys presented no great problem, as the number of non-Christian hostellers belonging to the school section was small and tending to decrease. But in the Christian Hostel the larger number belonged to the School section, and moreover the Hostel itself was situated in the old College compound nearly a mile away from the growing centre of College life on the Drummond Road. It was decided therefore to remove the small group of College Christian students to new quarters in one of the wings to be added to the New Hindu Hostel, leaving the old Christian Hostel to the School. Actually the students and their Warden, the Rev. Arthur Davies, were moved up in July, 1911, before the new wing had been built, and were accommodated in a part of the New Hindu Hostel itself. These Christian students began to take their meals along with the Mohammedan students in the large upstairs hall in the New Hostel, and thus was formed in fact, and soon in name, the Common Mess.

This move contributed to the second important change in policy ; for with it we find the distinction "Hindu" deliberately dropped from the names of the Old and New Hostels. The Principal wrote in his Report for this year : "In time it is hoped that all religious distinctions may be so regulated as to

permit of free social intercourse and a common table. It is not the function of a Christian College to perpetuate caste restrictions, but rather to promote the Brotherhood of Man,—and the time for a bolder advance in this direction seems to have arrived."

But another factor had contributed in no small measure to this change. In July, 1910, there had entered the third year class of the College a Brahman student from Delhi named Nanak Chand Sharma. He was marked out for leadership and became at once a Monitor of the New Hostel. During the year he organized a literary and social club among the members of his own "year," which in allusion to the "Rainbow Inn" of *Silas Marner* (a prescribed text in the English course) he called the Rainbow Club. "The Club has met weekly," the Principal wrote at the end of the year, "for a debate on some subject of literary or practical interest, and has kept its members interested in a thoroughly wholesome and beneficial manner. Towards the end of the term the members and all the staff were photographed in the Taj Garden, and a few days later they met again in the Ram Bagh for a break-up dinner. Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Mohammedans and Christians partook of a common meal, without any stiffness or aloofness —on the contrary, with every evidence of cordiality and unanimity. In my twenty years' experience of the Indian students I have not seen any such successful instance of what can be accomplished by the spontaneous influence of a strong personality, when devoted to a good end."

The following session this Rainbow Club, having apparently swallowed up the former Hostels Union Society and the College Literary and Debating

Society, had become the chief organ of College social activity. Thus the change of policy in the hostels seems to have met a spontaneous movement among the students themselves, and Principal Durrant wrote in the next year's Report of the New Hostel, now rechristened Haileybury House. "In this Hostel we have Christians, Mohammedans, and Hindus living side by side, and conscious already of a real corporate unity in the life of the Hostel though it is only three months since this Hostel was founded."

It remains to chronicle two or three other events of this period before this chapter closes. The year 1903 was the Jubilee year of the opening of the College, and the occasion was celebrated by a very successful Reunion of old students on December 29 and 30. On the 29th there was a public reception and conversazione, presided over by the Director of Public Instruction, Mr. T. C. Lewis; on the 30th there was a Thanksgiving Service in the College Hall in the morning, and during the day a cricket match, Past *v.* Present, in which the College Captain, S. W. Bobb, succeeded in beating the Past off his own bat. The proceedings ended with a Commemoration Dinner served to 215 guests. Each evening the College buildings were brilliantly illuminated.

One hundred and twenty-five Old Boys of the College attended this Reunion, of whom four belonged to pre-Mutiny days. The following made speeches or poems on the occasion: Mr. J. F. Fanthome (1855-61), Retired Deputy-Collector; Pt. Girraj Kishore Dutt (1870-5), Subordinate Judge; Mr. S. G. Thomas (1862, 1869-75), Headmaster of the School; Mr. Jangi Nath (1875-8), Government Pleader, Moradabad; Col.-Sergt. Ban-

arsi Dass (1870-80), 17th Bengal Infantry ; Mr. Murli Dhar (1858-76), Headmaster, Victoria High School ; Mr. John Philip (1882-8), Sanitary Assistant Superintendent, Delhi ; Mr. G. C. Chaudhry (1896-1901), Pleader, Agra ; Mr. Wazir Sahai (1891-9), Assistant Engineer, Dehra Dun ; Mr. Raj Behari Lal (1891-7), Pleader, Agra ; Pt. Tika Ram (1890-1903) ; Mr. Muttra Dass Chowdhry (1851-60) ; Mr. Sirdar Singh (1895-1903) ; Mr. Mahbub-ul-Rahman (1901-2) ; Mr. A. C. Banerji (1892-1900).

There was a general desire expressed by the Old Boys present that an annual reunion should be established, and this led on naturally to the formation in 1909 of the Old Boys' Association. In that year the inaugural meeting was held on December 27, in response to an invitation sent out by Mr. J. F. Fanthome, Pt. Girraj Kishore Dutt, B. Muttra Dass and Mr. James Devadasan, and about 150 Old Boys attended. The Association was duly formed, with the following as its first office-bearers, and after the meeting the company adjourned to an enjoyable garden party given by the newly-elected President :

President : Pandit Girraj Kishore Dutt ; Judge, Small Cause Court, Agra.

Vice-Presidents : Mr. S. G. Thomas ; Headmaster, Collegiate School. Mr. Shiva Charan Dass ; Barrister-at-Law.

Secretary : Mr. J. F. Fanthome ; Magistrate (retired).

Joint Secretary : Mr. J. Devadasan ; Professor at the College.

Treasurer : The Hon. Syed Alay Nabi, Khan

Bahadur, M.L.C., Vice-Chairman, Municipal Board,
Agra.

In the sphere of athletics the good traditions of sportsmanship already in building were continued, and the provision of additional playing-fields on either side of the Drummond Road and the development of inter-hostel games brought a larger number of students into the College games. In 1907-8 the Agra Athletic Association was formed, under the Presidency of P. Bramley, Esq., District Superintendent of Police, and the College teams entered the leagues in both Hockey and Cricket. Keenness was especially fostered by the annual matches between the two local Colleges, and the spirit of these contests cannot be better illustrated than by the account of the Double-tie Match of February 1 and 2, 1911, which happened to be the last cricket match to be played on the site of the new College buildings.

The previous year St. John's had won the cup from Agra College after a keenly contested match, and this year the excitement was intense. St. John's went in first, and in the first innings both sides were all out for eighty-four runs apiece. "In the second innings, St. John's made a most sensationally poor start! Three wickets were down for five runs, and six for thirteen. The excitement in the field among the hundreds of spectators was intense, and the supporters of the Agra College were naturally jubilant. But a stand was now made, and the score was forty-six before the seventh wicket fell. All however, were out for eighty, leaving the Agra College, with its strong batting reputation, every prospect of a win.

"Alas for human expectations! Two men were dismissed for no runs, and three wickets were down for eight. But all credit was now due to the Agra College, and most of all to the Captain, as they settled down to play a stubborn game, and to pull off the match, if possible. Seven wickets were down for sixty-four! It looked most gloomy for St. John's, and the Cup! Sylvester Chaube, however, and all the team for that matter, were on their mettle, and determined to die game! Eight for sixty-nine. Then nine for seventy-seven. Only three more required to equal, and four to win. Ah! A bye for two, and now only one to equal and two to win. A run is hastily snatched, and the crowd after great cheers from the Agra College supporters is now silent in suspense. Another ball is delivered, nervously played, triumphantly caught, and the game is over! A double tie, runs eighty-four and eighty all. The only satisfaction, that if neither side won, neither side lost!"

The retirement of Mr. J. P. Haythornthwaite in 1911 marked an epoch in the College history. His long service of twenty-one years was in itself a new thing in the rather broken record of Principals, and he had succeeded in keeping with him through these long years a growing band of colleagues. Coming at a time when the College was called to enter on new life and growth, this long and continuous service was invaluable. Its contribution cannot be better summarized than in the words of his successor, the Rev. H. B. Durrant :

The year (1911-12) has brought the close of a twenty-one years' principalship, which will be always memorable in the history of St. John's College; the Rev. J. P.

Haythornthwaite took over charge in the year 1890 ; it was then a small institution with some twenty-nine students in the College department ; his period of office has witnessed many very great developments which have for the most part been due to his untiring energy and his single-eyed devotion to the interests of the institution ; during his principalship the College has been affiliated to the B.Sc. and M.A. standard of the Allahabad University ; the School has been put under separate management, and with two European masters in addition to the Manager bids fair to become one of the best staffed and equipped schools in the Province ; the College numbers have multiplied by ten and were 290 when he left for England ; adequate hostel accommodation for 130 students had been provided and a large scheme for rebuilding the College on the Drummond Road with thoroughly adequate provision for the teaching of Arts, Science, and Commerce in accordance with the most modern requirements, was well on its way towards realisation. It is impossible to exaggerate the debt owed by the College to the retiring Principal, but the obviously heartfelt gratitude and affection that found expression when the time came to say good-bye gave rise to scenes that will not soon be forgotten in our College history and must have convinced Mr. and Mrs. Haythornthwaite of the very deep hold that they have on the hearts of St. John's students of many generations.

CHAPTER X

Rebuilding : 1911 to 1914

AS the first sod was turned in 1911 for the new College building, a little group had gathered—of staff, engineers, and workmen—to pray for the College that was to be: “That its foundations may be laid in truth and uprightness, that beauty and reverence may be built into its walls, and that so long as one stone remains upon another it may ever stand for all things that are pure and lovely and of good report.” A year and a half later, on April 3, 1913, the foundation-stone was laid by Canon H. B. Durrant, then Bishop-Designate of Lahore. The building had by that date already reached first-floor level, and the ceremony was held amid the great pillars of the yet unfinished Hall. St. John’s College was giving its second Principal to carry on the great tradition of Bishop French in the See of Lahore, in the Cathedral of which Bishop Durrant was consecrated in the following August. He had been Principal for barely two sessions, but he had given fifteen years to the service of the College, and his contribution to the rebuilding of its life is not easily measured.

We have seen already how he gained reputation as a teacher. Taking up for himself the new subject of Economic Science, he made of it a living study in the College. But his special interest lay in the religious teaching. In Principal Haythornthwaite’s time the

religious lesson had been given to the whole College assembled in Hall. Now with a larger Christian staff, it was becoming possible to divide the College into classes for this teaching, and though these classes were still large, a greater intimacy in the teaching was possible. "Years as they pass," he wrote in his last year, "only deepen my conviction of the supreme importance and the unique opportunity of this daily twenty-five minutes, the first and freshest part of the day, given to the steady teaching of the Bible. Though all teaching is delightful, this is the part of the day's work that I enjoy most of all." It is to Principal Durrant, too, that the College owes many of the beautiful prayers used at the opening of the College day.

But perhaps his chief contribution lay in his power of drawing together the staff, particularly the Christian staff, into a team. We have passed from the time when two or three missionaries on the staff lived in widely-separated bungalows, to a new era when as many as eight or ten Christian teachers were living near together on the Drummond Road, most of them in close connection with the hostels. The Principal, Wardens, and other unmarried members of the staff dined at a high table in the Common Mess,—"to many of us a pleasant reminiscent flavour of old University days",—and they joined for other meals in what is now the Common Room of Haileybury House, and for worship, with the Christian students, in the little chapel in the upper storey of the same hostel.

It was a remarkable team in those years: Dr. Huntly, frail, but working keenly to within a few days of his passing in the spring of 1913; Louis

Steele, steadily building up the reputation of the Commercial training; Arthur Davies and Garfield Williams, throwing their whole weight into the new developments of building and life; John Bangaru Raju, keen convert and brilliant student of Philosophy from Madras, holding audiences at the Sunday Afternoon Lectures spellbound by his oratory and obvious sincerity,—followed in 1912 by his master, Eric Drew, formerly Principal of a Hindu College at Madras and bringing a weight of spiritual experience and conviction which left profound impressions on the College; Robert Lloyd, bringing in 1912 his experience as Dean of Trinity College, Oxford, to the development of the residential life; and, lastly, the youthful succession of Short Service men,—Gerald Smith taking the place of P. F. Holland, Jack Whitfield the engineer, Donald Sully the mathematician, and Arthur Wallace the chemist from Trinity College, Dublin. With each new arrival the question would be debated, how he would fit into the Chummery; and each would find himself drawn in. It was well said of Principal Durrant, in the farewell address given by the staff:

You have taught us to sink private interests and small prejudices for the sake of the common good. You have taught us to be loyal to each other and loyal to the College which we serve. . . . We shall try to carry on your traditions, . . . for you have welded us into one brotherhood, almost into one family, or, to use your own favourite figure, into one boat's crew. You set the stroke for us and have always been ready to do the hardest work yourself.

During this period the work of building was going forward steadily. Hostel life on the Drummond Road was carried on in an atmosphere of dust and

noise from the hauling of bricks and the chipping of stone. The Arts classes were transferred to the new class-rooms before the end of 1913, while work was still going on in the great Hall and on the roof; but the Science work had to continue in the old Laboratories for some time longer.

The new building was formally opened by the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, on January 9, 1914, and happily Bishop Durrant was able to be present and take part in the ceremony. But it was in the fitness of things that his place as Principal had been taken by the Rev. A. W. Davies, who had already made so unique a contribution to the new College and who was to be its guide through the new era now opening.

Before passing, however, to this opening, we must retrace our steps a little, to give in more detail the story of the new buildings. It will be remembered that when the idea of the new College was first arising, the land to the east of the Drummond Road, between the Bharatpur Road and the railway, had been acquired and levelled, and the central portion of the New Hindu Hostel was already built in the north-east corner of the site. It was one day in the beginning of the year 1909, when the Superintendent of the Government Gardens, Mr. Grierson, had come up to advise Mr. Haythornthwaite and Mr. Davies on the lay-out of the Hostel gardens, that he made the suggestion which was the starting-point of the later scheme. One wing of the hostel was to be completed, but buildings were to be extended southwards to provide for the Arts and Science Departments on the site of the one of the old bungalows used as a Mohammedan Hostel. A rough idea having thus been formed of what was wanted, there was need of an

architect. Mr. Davies was determined that in style and beauty the new building should be more worthy both of the city of Agra and of educational ideals than the rather nondescript style in which the New Hindu Hostel had been built.

Colonel Sir Swinton Jacob, who had specialized on the adaptation of the Indo-Saracenic style of architecture to modern building requirements, was at that time living in practical retirement at Jaipur. As he was known both as a skilled architect and as a man of religious feeling and generous sympathies, he was appealed to for advice, and replied at once : " Dear Mr. Davies, I have received your letter as from a friend." He supplied the general design of the College and helped freely with his advice in detail, supplying skilled draughtsmen from Jaipur and procuring for the College a copy of the portfolios, which he had edited, giving details from the great buildings of the Moghul period. No charge was made beyond the wages of his draughtsmen when actually engaged upon the work. As Lord Hardinge said at the opening ceremony : " Sir Swinton Jacob's is a name that will go down to many generations in connection with the notable buildings he has designed in various parts of India ; and the help he has given you will add another laurel to his wreath not only for the beauty of his design, but for the generosity of his gift."

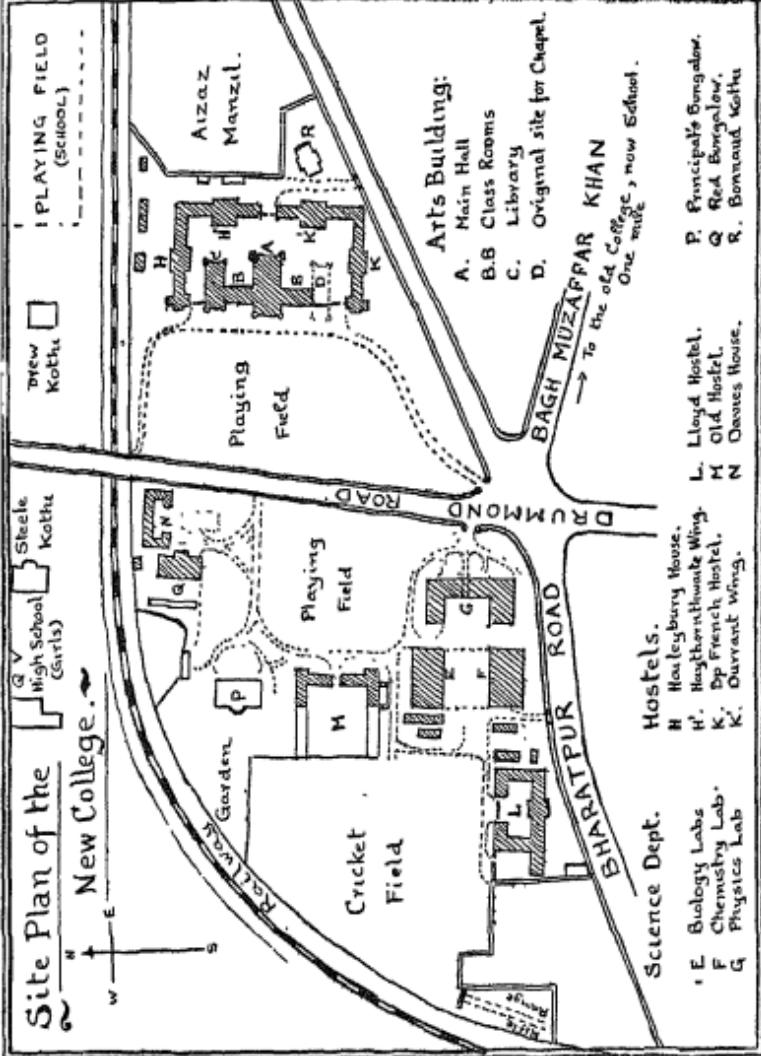
The plan was carried out in red brick, locally made, with ornament and facings of local red sandstone. White sandstone from the same quarries was used for the domes, and for the interior of the great Hall, and the cutting of the stone was carried out by local craftsmen on the site. The style was worked out

Site Plan of the
New College.

G.V. High School
Kotka
(Girls)

New Kotka

PLAYING FIELD
(SCHOOL)



P. Principals Bungalow.

Q. Red Bungalow.

R. Bonnand Wotts.

Q. Red Bungalow.

R. Bonnand Wotts.

Scale : 450 feet to 1 inch

more or less experimentally in the building of the Haileybury House and Warden's quarters, and the experience gained there proved invaluable when it came to the main College building.

For the building was not placed in the hands of a professional contractor. Mr. W. J. Thompson, a Cambridge graduate who had come out on short service, was the first engineer-in-chief, and Mr. Wahid Yar Khan, an Old Boy of the College, did good service as assistant engineer. The Warden's quarters of the New Hindu Hostel were turned into a building office, and there Mr. A. N. Banerji, who had had his training in the Business Department, began his long service of the College as clerk and Secretary.

At the beginning of 1912, however, when the walls of the main College building were already rising, Mr. Thompson went down with enteric fever and had to go to England. He did not return to complete the work, but was sent as Principal to the Stuart Memorial College at Isfahan, in Persia, named after Bishop Stuart, first Vice-Principal of St. John's. Fortunately the C.M.S. were able to release the Rev. Percy Webber, who was in charge of the industrial work at Secundra, and he, with some help from Mr. J. B. Whitfield, carried the work through to its completion. While the work was in progress the Government of India launched its scheme for building New Delhi, and the demand for skilled workmen there caused considerable difficulty in Agra and raised the rates for such work ; but the carved ornament and inlay work of the College show that the Indian craftsmen have by no means lost their cunning.

The main College building is entered through a lofty archway which leads by way of a central porch

into the Great Hall. On either side of the porch stretch the two wings of the College, the whole front being so designed that the Warden's quarters of the adjacent Hostels form the two ends of a symmetrical block. Above this central archway is a specimen of the inlay work for which Agra is so famous,—a floral pattern of red sandstone inlaid in white,—and the pillars of the gateway are adapted from columns in the Firoz Shah Musjid in the old fort of Delhi. This gateway leads through a porch, in which are tablets recording the laying of the foundation-stone and the opening of the College, into a domed entrance hall built of red and white sandstone. Its four great arches are supported on heavy, square-edged pillars, the design of which was suggested by those in the Arab *sarai* near Humayun's Tomb at Delhi, and its dome shows that gradual transformation from a square into a circle at which the Moghul builders were so clever. In its detail it is reminiscent of the great Mosque at Fatehpur Sikri. Straight above this is a similar domed hall on the upper storey, and above this the lofty central *chatri* or cupola surmounted by a white stone cross.

The domed entrance hall leads straight into the lofty Assembly Hall, some seventy feet long and rising the whole height of the College. There is a gallery round three sides, and the dais or platform is surmounted by a lofty arch and half-dome in the style of the Taj Mahal doorways. The strong severe columns and arches which carry the gallery and ceiling are modelled on those of the upper storey of Akbar's Tomb at Secundra, and the creamy-white colour of the sandstone gives a welcome relief after the deep red colouring of the rest of the building. Every detail is in keeping—the web and star moulding of

the half-dome, the delicate white stone railing round the gallery, copied from the old city of Amber, near Jaipur, and the heavy, iron-bound panelled doors at the entrance and at the back of the dais ; and the Hall is acknowledged to be one of the most impressive and successful features of the College.

To right and left from the central porch extend the main corridors, the stone arches forming beautiful vistas as they lead the eye along. The similar corridors on the upper storey are protected by stone railings pierced with a beautiful design taken from the Kanch Mahal at Secundra. The corridor to the north leads us past two class-rooms and the staff room to the Library, the ante-room to which forms a reading-room and picture gallery. The Library itself is a peculiarly attractive room, its gallery and ceiling being carried by six great red sandstone pillars which form alcoves on either side, conveniently accommodating the steel bookshelves and tables for readers. Beneath the Library is a crypt, which, though planned as a store room, has made for the time being a very beautiful little College chapel. In the original plans a College chapel was to be built at the southern end of the main corridor, but this has not been built and the building on that side remains unfinished.

At the rear of the main building, the Hall forms with the hostel buildings two pleasant quadrangles with grass plots and shady trees. The original New Hindu Hostel building is retained, despite its strangely different style of architecture, as a part of Haileybury House, and now bears the name of Principal Haythornthwaite. The hostel on the south side bears the name of Bishop French, and its eastern wing, which was not completed till a year

after the opening of the new buildings, bears the name of Bishop Durrant. The rear corners of the Library and the Hall were intended to be surmounted by *chattris* similar to those on the front, and part of the stone-work already completed for the construction of these is buried in the Bishop French quadrangle for some future time.

In the original plans drawn by Sir Swinton Jacob, the Science building was to be erected on the land to the east of the main buildings, occupied by a bungalow called Aizaz Manzil. As, however, this land was not available, a new scheme was worked out for three detached laboratories on the western side of the Drummond Road, and the remaining land between the Old Hostel and the Bharatpur Road, once occupied by Mulhar Rao's house, was acquired for the purpose. In drawing up plans for these laboratories the College was fortunate in having the assistance of Dr. Garfield Williams,¹ while Dr. E. G. Hill and Mr. Durack of the Muir Central College, Allahabad, gave most valuable advice.

In describing these Science buildings as completed we must anticipate the passage of years and the delay occasioned by the Great War. The building of the Chemistry and Biology blocks, with the gas and electricity generators and water tower, dragged on through most of the 1914-15 session; and in the meantime Chemistry was taught in the old School laboratory, while temporary accommodation for Physics classes was found in the old bungalow rooms of the Old Hostel. The building of the Physics block was not completed until 1928. As completed the three laboratories form three sides of a rectangle, and the Physics block forms the front on the Drummond

¹ Now Dean of Manchester.

Road side. Although the building is carried out in brick, without the ornamental stone-work which adorns the Arts building, the style of architecture is the same, the verandahs retain the brick arches so satisfactorily worked out in Haileybury House, while the front of the Physics block with its lofty entrance archway forms one of the most satisfying of the College buildings. The buildings provide excellent laboratory accommodation, while in addition the Biology block houses a Natural History museum and the Physics block provides a good room for the Science library. In the space between the Biology and Chemistry blocks, as well as on the north of the Biology block, a botanical garden has been laid out.

At the time of the opening of the College in 1914 further staff quarters had also been provided by the erection in the compound in front of the Principal's bungalow of what came to be called the "Red Bungalow," a building designed and first occupied by Dr. Garfield Williams. At the same time two thatched bungalows on the north side of the railway, later to be known as the Drew and Steele Kothis, were acquired as staff houses. One of the old bungalows forming the original Mohammedan Hostel also survives behind the Durrant wing, and has come to be called the Bonnaud Kothi. With these bungalows and the quarters provided in the hostels a large number of the staff were brought into residence in and about the College, while others were able to rent rooms in the neighbouring Bagh Muzaffar Khan.

We may complete this sketch of the new College buildings with an account of the further hostel accommodation subsequently provided. After the Physics classes had vacated the old bungalow portion of the Old Hostel it was decided to pull it down, as it

had always been unsuitable for hostel purposes, and a new front, designed by the Rev. T. D. Sully, was erected providing in addition to students' rooms a good common room and Warden's quarters. This front retains the style of the wings built by Mr. Haythornthwaite, and with them encloses a pleasant quadrangle with a privacy and charm of its own. This new portion was opened in December, 1915.

Subsequently, in the year 1920, a fourth hostel was built to the west of the Science buildings, with a quadrangle opening towards the playing-field, and was named after Robert Lloyd, who contributed so much to the formation of the hostel life of the College.

Lastly, Davies House was added in 1927-8, on the site between the Red Bungalow and the Drummond Road. It is a two-storied building, and provides an excellent Dining Hall and Common Room, in addition to students' and Warden's rooms.

One building remains a vision still,—the College Chapel. Several attempts have been made at a design, including plans by Mr. Bernard Matthews, F.R.I.B.A., both for a chapel on the original site and alternatively for a separate building on another site. As Canon Davies wrote of it :

The College itself is widely recognized as one of the most beautiful and impressive educational buildings in India. No lower standards can possibly be accepted for the Chapel if it is to be worthy to bear the name of Christ in a city where art has lavished its best in the name of Mohammed. . . . We have thought of it as the Chapel of the Invitation, and even now in the beautiful little crypt chapel which we use day by day there hangs above the Holy Table a photograph of Thorwaldsen's statue, the Christ with wounded hands outstretched and saying : " Come unto Me."

CHAPTER XI

Developments : 1914 to 1930

THE opening of the new College buildings in January, 1914, marked the beginning of a new era for missionary education in Agra. The presence of the Viceroy and Lady Hardinge (their first public appearance after the Delhi bomb-throwing) set the seal to the liberal assistance and favour of Government. The public of Agra crowded to the new Hall for the occasion, and lined the playing-field in the afternoon when a combined School and College hockey team played an unusually strong Agra College eleven. In the evening there was a good rally of Old Boys, and the College students celebrated the occasion by an entertainment in the Hall.

The new Principal already held the confidence of the fine staff team which Principals Haythornthwaite and Durrant had built up, and he was determined to make full use of the larger opportunities which the move afforded. Now that the whole staff was transferred to the new site, the corporate spirit which had first grown up around the new hostels spread at once to the others. One significant expression of this was the fortnightly staff dinners and discussions which started in 1913. Such questions as "Karma and the meaning of suffering" were taken up and keenly debated, and the whole staff, Christian and

non-Christian, gained much in mutual understanding and in unity of purpose.

At the High School, at this same period, under the leadership of the Rev. Norman Tubbs, a strong "Chummery" had been gathered, with Short Service men—Crick, Kingdon, Robathan, and Blake, and with keen young Indian Christian teachers like Dina Nath, Shoran Sinha, and Alfred Zahir. So strong, indeed, had the educational staff in Agra become, that it was felt possible to spare men for the new developments at St. Andrew's College, Gorakhpur, on the other side of the Provinces. Dr. Garfield Williams was sent there as Principal in 1914, and was followed by Messrs. Oliphant, Crick, and Robathan.

It does not come within the scope of this history to give an account of the High School after its separation from the College; but we should notice here that along with its expansion into the whole of the old College buildings, its Christian Hostel was moved into fine new quarters erected near the new College buildings, with a chapel and playing-field of its own. Both School and Hostel entered upon a new era of increasing reputation and widening service.

Education for Christian girls was well established at the Queen Victoria High School, and at the end of 1912 Miss McNeile had started the St. John's Girls' School in the city—a purdah school for the sisters of the boys attending School and College. At Secundra the mission school was leaving behind the traditions of an orphanage, and was being developed into a first-rate Middle School for Christian boys, with a strong industrial department.

It would be fascinating to speculate on the future

which might have been, had not the Great War thrown its shadow across this scene of bright promise. Here we must record the facts, and measure the strength of the College by the new and unforeseen difficulties overcome.

There were losses at the beginning of Principal Davies's *régime* for which the war was not responsible. We have already noticed how Dr. Williams was transferred to Gorakhpur. The sudden death of Arthur Wallace at Almora in the Hills, in the summer of 1913, had robbed the Science staff, too, of a life of singular promise. He had already given much to the planning of the Chemistry laboratory, and his name is commemorated on a tablet by the entrance to the Chemistry building which he did not live to see. In April, 1914, the College lost a most loyal Old Boy and faithful Secretary through the death of Mr. J. Fanthome; and in September of the same year Eric Drew died. In a short two years Mr. Drew had left his mark on the Philosophy teaching of the whole University, as well as on the lives of many of his colleagues and students.

But along with the delays which it occasioned in the completion of the building scheme, the Great War had the effect of stopping the supply of missionary and short service staff, and of taking away many of those who had already come out. Mr. Holmes, who was to have come on short service in the autumn of 1914, joined up instead. Gerald Smith and Jack Whitfield returned at once, and were both killed on the Western front—as was also Chris Blake of the School “chummery.” Ordained men were at first excluded from war service, but in 1917 the Rev. E. F. Bonhote returned to England

and enlisted in the ranks, and in 1918 the Rev. R. H. Lloyd was called up for recruiting work with the I.A.R.O. After the war was over, both Bonhote and Lloyd were forbidden by the doctors to return to India. Donald Sully, who remained with the Principal and Mr. Steele throughout the war, took a commission in the Agra Volunteer Rifles in 1916, and had to give much of his time to the training of the newly-organized Indian Defence Force in the following years. So far as missionary staff were concerned, both College and School were set back to the conditions with which Mr. Haythornthwaite had begun his task.

It was, indeed, natural that this sacrifice should be made, and that mission work should be kept going with the bare minimum of European staff needed to keep it from collapsing. But what of the College as a whole? If its reaction seems comparatively insignificant, it must be remembered that, as the Principal wrote in 1918, "there is very little sense that this is India's war."

In the autumn of 1914 a small committee was formed, with Prof. A. C. Datta as Treasurer, to raise funds for improving the lot of the Indian troops in France, and at Christmas, with the help of the boys and girls of the High Schools, some 250 bags of comforts for the troops were prepared and despatched. Later, in 1917, when the front had been brought nearer home and the "Our Day" fund was being raised for the troops in Mesopotamia, the College Union Society raised a sum of Rs.125, and another Rs.200 was realized by giving up the usual Speech Day celebrations. On August 5, 1918, the King Emperor's Call to Prayer was observed by a gather-

ing of some 6,000 students from the schools and colleges in Agra in the MacDonnell Park. The flag was unfurled and saluted by all present, after which there were brief speeches and prayer. "The enthusiasm with which schools and colleges alike entered into this celebration shows," the Principal wrote, "that much more could be done to appeal to the imagination."

It was not until the beginning of 1917 that the organization of the Indian Defence Force suggested the possibility of Indian students and staff taking up military service in the war. While service was made compulsory for all Europeans, recruitment in the Indian section was voluntary. By this time the first enthusiasm of the first year of the war had passed, and now the gathering political unrest made many Indian leaders more ready to dwell on racial differences in the conditions of service, than to seize the opportunity afforded.

The Principal, however, threw himself into the task of securing a response from the colleges. A pamphlet was prepared and published from the College, giving the conditions of service and the call to students from Government and from a number of patriotic leaders; and this was circulated widely among the colleges of North India. When the College reopened in July, 1917, a vigorous recruiting campaign was launched. Mr. Montagu's announcement in Parliament at the beginning of August relieved the political tension, and by the 28th of that month—the last date for enlisting—some seventy-five students and members of the staff had given in their names. Then the social system rose and asserted itself; wives and mothers, women in *purdah* knowing

little or nothing of the war, would not hear of their husbands and sons taking the risk. Some came to Agra to recall their loved ones, some threatened suicide ; and the number of those who held to their purpose against the pressure dwindled to thirty-five. Yet when this had been further reduced to twenty-two by medical examination, St. John's contributed to the University Company a contingent only exceeded by the Muir College, Allahabad, among the colleges of the United Provinces

Training of this detachment was started in Agra during the winter months with the assistance of the officers of the European section of the Defence Force, and in the summer of 1918 Lieut. Sully and the Agra Detachment joined with the rest of the U.P. Company, some 250 strong, for two months' continuous training at Dehra Dun. At the end of this camp, a St. John's student, Jivan Krishna Dar, was awarded one of the two commissions in the Company, and later he took a commission again in the reorganized Territorial Force. Members of the Corps who had been through this training were used in the following session to train new recruits in the College, and the Allahabad University tried to get the Corps extended and established. But with the Armistice the whole movement was allowed to drop, and more than two years elapsed before military training was again opened to a new generation of students in the Indian Territorial Force.

Yet this effort, insignificant though it may seem, has left military training established in the educational system. In the reorganized University Training Corps Agra came to have a half Company, under the command of Capt. Sully and Lieut. L. P.

Mathur, and an armoury and miniature range have been provided in the College premises. There can be no doubt of the value to Indian students of the training in discipline, and it is to be hoped that the movement will contribute at least to the gradual achievement of independence of a foreign army in the task of maintaining internal order and frontier defence.

Hardly was the war over when India was plunged into a period of political unrest ; and, although Agra as a city has not been a centre of political life, the College could not remain unaffected by the currents of the time. Throughout the winter of 1918-19 students were closely following the progress of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, and the launching of the first Passive Resistance campaign against the Rowlatt Act broke upon the closing weeks of the College year. The College was closed early, without holding the usual examinations, owing not so much to unrest among the students, as to fear of railway strikes and the consequent anxiety of parents outside Agra. The following session was, however, comparatively normal ; and the King's Proclamation on the passing of the Government of India Act was welcomed as marking the beginning of a new period of progress. The Principal wrote in February, 1920 :

We have passed through difficult days and the words of the Proclamation must have brought new hope and courage to many hearts. To us in St. John's College they bring a challenge, for we have aimed at producing in our College and Hostel life that spirit of mutual understanding which is so essential for good citizenship. We may hope that as men stream out from the old College they will go out to stand for all things that are good and honourable in that new public life of India

into which the Royal Proclamation and the Reform Act which accompanies it are ushering us.

It was in the following session of 1920-1, however, that the political tension in the colleges of India was to reach its maximum. Mr. Gandhi issued his appeal to students to leave all Government and Government-aided institutions, and he secured the support of the National Congress at Nagpur in December, 1920. Principal Davies was on furlough in England, and the way in which the College came through the storm bore testimony to the loyalty of the whole staff and student leaders, as well as to the wise guidance of Mr. Steele. Writing in the College Magazine in April, Mr. Steele said :

The writer wishes to take this opportunity of thanking the members of the staff for their continued loyalty to the College, and the students also deserve a word of congratulation for having kept as steady as they did under the circumstances. We are sorry to lose the eight students who asked to have their names removed from the register on account of their feelings towards the non-co-operation movement. From the tone of their letters we feel sure that they were actuated by the highest motives; one of those letters was especially touching, showing that the writer of it had come to his decision after much heart-searching and many an inward struggle, and in a truly noble spirit of self-sacrifice. The pity of it is that we number among those eight some of the most promising students in their classes.

And the Principal writing to Haileybury in December, 1922, could say :

When I returned to India last February, I expected to find a very different feeling in the College from that which I had known when I left for England fifteen months previously, . . . but to my very great pleasure and surprise I found that the relations between the European staff and the students were very little affected

by the strong feeling in the country. It was not that the students did not share this feeling, but that, in spite of it, they are quite ready to recognize and appreciate friendliness and goodwill.

The Union Society proved its value to the College throughout this period, but a special note should be made of the wise leadership of Harish Chandra Seth, who was student President of the Union throughout this critical session. When the first U.P. Students' Convention was held at Agra in October, 1920, and was largely captured by extremists, the Union Society refused to commit its members to participation. The usual Society dinner was held in February, when the Society, for the first time, elected a Moslem President, Wahabuddin Khan, to succeed Harish Chandra. In later years, it is true, the growing communal tension in the country was to have its reactions in the College, and to involve the Union Society particularly in difficulties in the conduct of vernacular dramas ; but the College policy of uniting all communities in a common hostel and college life has been again and again abundantly justified.

There was serious danger during this 1920-1 session that the compulsory character of religious instruction would be made the occasion for attacks on the College, as it was indeed in the case of the Wilson College, Bombay ; and it was during this winter that the demand for a Conscience Clause in relation to religious instruction came to a head. Through the joint efforts of Mr. McKenzie of the Wilson College and Mr. Steele, a conference was held at Poona in the Christmas week to secure a common policy among the Christian colleges ; and, while complete agreement was not found possible, the

majority of the representatives were in favour of meeting any reasonable demand for liberty.

Meanwhile the Principal had been in close touch with the mission authorities in England, and, particularly in view of negotiations then in progress in connection with an Agra University, was able to obtain a statement of policy for the College which left it free to accept the Conscience Clause when it was actually introduced into the Education Code of the United Provinces in 1922. This clause enabled students, or their parents, to claim exemption from religious instruction, if such claim was made at the beginning of the College session. This was explained in the College Prospectus and to the students assembled in Hall at the beginning of the year ; and the confidence with which the Mission accepted the policy was shown to have been justified by the result. In the year in which the Conscience Clause was introduced, and attention was especially drawn to it, there were only four students in the whole College who applied for exemption under it.

Such was the strange and unexpected environment within which St. John's College was to develop its new life, and we must return now to review in brief outline some of the more significant features of the period.

As a teaching body, in spite of serious losses to its staff, the College made steady progress, though it failed to secure the large proportion of Christian teachers of which there seemed such good promise in the year before the War. By 1915, the teaching of all subjects in Arts and Science, except that of the Indian languages, was in the hands of teachers with

either English Honours degrees or the Master's degree of an Indian University ; and before the end of the period the teaching of Persian, Hindi, and Urdu was placed on the same footing. The opening of the new buildings coincided with a new policy of co-operation with Agra College, for which Principal Durrant had worked , lectures were interchanged between the two colleges—now separated by only a few hundred yards—in History, and the students of Agra College attended Philosophy classes at St. John's. This co-operation was in 1920 extended to post-graduate teaching in English, and Agra College admitted students from St. John's on special terms to its Law classes.

In the year 1919 the teaching of History was reorganized and strengthened, and under Prof. J. C. Taluqdar a special study of the Moghul period of Indian history was undertaken—a period so fully illustrated in the historic monuments of the locality. M.A. classes were opened in Economics and Persian in 1924, and the number of post-graduate students in the College (including those reading for Science) increased steadily to a total of sixty in the year 1926-7.

In Science the development was as marked, as the new laboratories and improved equipment came into use. In 1915 the College stood first in the University in its percentage of passes in the B.Sc. examination, and in the following year its B.Sc. students secured three out of four of the scholarships offered by Government.

Many Science students at this time were taking a Preliminary Scientific Examination for admission to the Medical College at Lucknow ; and in 1916 there

were as many as thirty Old Boys of the College reading for the medical degree in that College. Affiliation to the M.Sc. standard in Physics, Chemistry, Botany and Zoology was secured in 1924, Government assisting liberally in the additional expenditure required for staff, equipment and books. After the special inquiry of 1926,¹ however, it was decided to concentrate on post-graduate teaching in Chemistry and Zoology ; Physics and Botany being taught up to the B.Sc. standard only. The reputation of the College for higher Science teaching came to attract students from as far away as Travancore in South India, and it has been able already to supply Christian teachers of Science to a number of other Mission Colleges and Schools.

The year 1914 marked the entry of Commerce into the College as a subject recognized for the University. Mr. Steele had become a Fellow of the Allahabad University in 1913, and it was largely through his energetic work that a course at the Intermediate level for a Diploma or Certificate in Commerce was introduced. The College was at once recognized and classes were opened in July, 1914 ; and, though the numbers taking this subject were at first disappointingly small, they rapidly grew. The old Business Department, or Commercial Training Institute, as it had come to be called, which had moved into separate quarters in a disused Scottish Kirk on the Muttra Road, continued to provide its course for those who could not enter the University, and its Certificates had come to have a recognized value throughout the Provinces.

Ten years later, in 1924, Mr. Steele secured the

¹ See p. 165.

introduction of a course for the B.Com. degree in the University, and classes were opened in the College in July of that year. The teaching staff in Commerce and Economics was now reorganized into a distinct Faculty, co-ordinate with the Faculties of Arts and Science, and a trained economist, Mr. J. T. Goodchild, was secured to succeed Mr. Steele as Dean of this Faculty. Mr. Steele, when after nineteen years' service he returned to England in May, 1925, to become Financial Secretary of the C.M.S., could leave this important and most useful section of the College education established on a sound basis, and he had seen generations of his students passing out into useful and honourable careers, taking with them his example of deep religious devotion expressed in unsparing service.

In connection with the Commerce Department, Mr. Steele was also mainly responsible for the development of the Employment Bureau. This was actually started in 1914 by Mr. J. B. Whitfield, who began collecting and publishing in the College Magazine information about various lines of employment open to students and the conditions of entry. But under Mr. Steele this was considerably extended, and the information gathered was published in the form of a pamphlet entitled *Careers for Indian Students*, which has been several times revised and has had a wide sale. In view of the widespread difficulty experienced by graduates of Universities in India in finding suitable employment, this Employment Bureau has proved a valuable experiment.

It was felt desirable that from time to time experienced Indian Christian members of the staff should be given help by the College to undergo a

course of further study in England. Accordingly Mr. Herbert Mark, who had stood first in the Allahabad University in the M.A. Previous Examination and had passed the M.A. Final Examination in 1915, spent 1921 to 1923 at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and returned to Agra after taking the Moral Sciences Tripos with a special study of Experimental Psychology; while in 1927 Mr. Mahajan was given Study Leave and spent two years at Keble College, Oxford, where he took the B.A. Degree with Honours in English Literature.

Mr. Mark, after his return, set to work with characteristic persistence and patience to open in the College the first Psychological Laboratory in the United Provinces, and to secure the introduction of Experimental Psychology as a subject of study in the University of Agra.

These expanding activities in the realm of teaching were assisted by more thorough organization and system in all sides of the work. In the office, in the keeping of records, in the planning of time-tables and examinations, the care and insistence of the Principal on high standards of efficiency has left its mark. The teaching of English, always liable to be a weakness in Indian education, was strengthened by the introduction in 1916-17 of a tutorial system, and post-graduate students were associated with the regular teaching staff in taking small tutorial groups in which written work could be adequately supervised and corrected. In all such developments the co-operation of the senior members of the staff was secured through the organization in 1924-5 of an Academic Council in which matters of educational policy and method were regularly discussed; and the association of these

meetings with the staff dinners and the social activities connected with them, made for an increasing spirit of co-operation and fellowship.

The College Library at the time of the move to the new buildings was still very small ; it was burdened with the dusty relics of earlier days, of interest to none but silver fish and worms, and was poorly organized and used. The annual expenditure on books did not exceed Rs.500. Sorted and transferred to its new quarters, the Library was reorganized by Mr. Sully on the basis of the Dewey Decimal system, and the way prepared for a rapid expansion both in size and in usefulness. At the time of the opening of the new buildings, Lady Hardinge made a generous gift of Rs.1,000 for books, and subsequently the College received from Government a series of special grants for books in connection with special subjects, and its recurring grant was gradually raised to Rs.2,000 a year. Valuable gifts of books were also received from the library left by Mr. Eric Drew, from Bishop Durrant, from the Principal, and from other friends ; and by the year 1930 the number of books had increased to over 10,000 volumes. A simple system of issue facilitated its use by students, and the provision of a whole-time assistant and of electric light made it possible to keep the Library open for use in the evenings as well as during College hours. With the completion of the Physics building a separate room became available there for a central Science library and reading room, which has already proved its value. Difficult as it is, within the limits of the funds available, to provide the books and periodicals needed for advanced studies in Science, a beginning has been made ; and there is no

doubt that through its Library the College has not only improved its own education, but has raised the standard in this respect of the other colleges in the University.

In the year 1916 a small bookstall was opened in the Library for the sale of inexpensive Christian literature. Difficulties of supervision stood in the way of this experiment, but in the 1919-20 session such books were lent to students in the daily Bible classes, and this system of a Christian lending library has been revived more recently with considerable success.

From January, 1914, a College Magazine was restarted, under the editorship of Mr. Sully, and has been issued regularly ever since. Its first issue contained accounts of the opening ceremonies, illustrated with photographic reproductions; and the magazine was at once adopted by the Old Boys' Association as its organ, every member receiving a copy at a special rate included in his annual subscription to the Association. The pressure of the war years, however, affected this activity also, and by the year 1920 there was a good deal of dissatisfaction both with the small proportion of outgoing students joining the Association, and with its lack of life and activity. At the suggestion of the Principal, the Association was reorganized in 1924, life-membership being secured by a single subscription paid on leaving College. The College Magazine is sent to members for a year after their joining, and after that a leaflet, usually off-printed from the "Principal's Notes" in the Magazine, is circulated to keep Old Boys in touch with College affairs.

In 1930 the Association lost through death its venerable President, Pandit Girraj Kishore Datt.

As we have seen, he had been a student under Principal Vines in 1884, and after a successful and honourable career in the judicial service, which earned for him the distinction of "Rai Bahadur" from Government, he lived in retirement in Agra. From its foundation in 1909, to the time of his death, he was President of the Association, and even when he had grown so feeble that he had to be carried from his conveyance, there were few public occasions at the College which he did not attend. A man of deeply religious character, he retained to the last his strong affection and gratitude for his old College, and the keenest interest in its progress.

In the sphere of athletics, the old Inter-collegiate tournaments organized by the Allahabad University had been discontinued, and this contributed to a comparative falling-off of interest in cricket and athletic sports, until a new Sports Tournament was organized along with the inauguration of the Agra University. The annual contests in hockey between the two local Colleges came to take the place of the cricket match as the most popular event of the athletic year. But the organization of Hostel and Day Student life and, with that, of inter-hostel tournaments, led to an increasing number of the students taking an active part in games. Before the end of this period an attempt was made to introduce a system of regular medical inspection and physical exercise for all junior students in the hostels.

We have already recorded the beginnings of the new development of social life and activities in the new hostels on the Drummond Road site, and it would be expected that in this period we should find further growth in this direction. At first, indeed, the corporate life of the hostels immediately adjoining

the Arts Building suffered from a disadvantage, partly because they were divided into four units—Haileybury, Haythornthwaite, Bishop French and Durrant Hostels, which were individually too small and not sufficiently separate as units of hostel life ; but also because roads had been made passing through the quadrangles between the College and these hostels which robbed them of privacy. By the 1917-18 session the effects of this in a lack of corporate life in these hostels, as compared with the Old Hostel and the Colony—an additional hostel group then accommodated in a hired bungalow at some distance from the College—was very marked, and in the following year steps were taken to remedy it. The four hostels were reorganized as two, with Haythornthwaite and Durrant Wings forming parts of Haileybury and Bishop French Hostels respectively. Screen walls were also built to enclose the quadrangles, and the roads were taken up and replaced by footpaths. By this time the front of the Old Hostel had been rebuilt, and two years later the members of the Colony, who had already established a vigorous tradition of hostel life, found permanent quarters in the Robert Lloyd Hostel.

As compared with their life in the old Christian Hostel, there is no doubt that the small group of Christian students suffered at first by being merged in the much larger number of Hindu and Mohammedian hostellers. They joined with the Mohammedian hostellers in the "Common Mess," but they tended to sit there as a separate group without mixing. While there was a very marked increase in the numbers, as well as in the quality, of Mohammedian students in the College during this period, there was at this time no indication of a growth in

the number of Christians, but rather the reverse. After considerable hesitation the Principal decided in 1922 to start a separate Christian hostel, and in July of that year the Red Bungalow was given up for the purpose, so that a stronger corporate Christian life might be fostered. Davies House was built in 1927-8 to provide suitable accommodation for them, and also for the increasing number of Anglo-Indian students whom the College was beginning to attract. From 1922 onwards there was a steady increase in the number of Christian students, and the Christian Union, which had been affiliated to the Student Christian Association of India in 1914, developed vigorous life and leadership. With the increase which has taken place, it seems likely that in future it will be possible to conserve this all-important Christian element in the College, and yet to return to the policy of avoiding segregation in hostels on communal lines.

During the latter part of this period there began to be a distinct demand for residential provision for women students in the College. The first woman student, Miss Daisy Phillips, whose home was in Agra, passed the Previous M.A. in Philosophy in 1923, and continued to take the final course; while in the following year Miss A. E. V. Carville took her B.Sc. from the College. In the 1927 and 1928 sessions the College had in Miss D. Honeybourne a most capable first lady lecturer on the staff. Plans are under consideration for opening a special hostel for women students in close connection with the Queen Victoria High School for girls; and these plans received the recommendation of the Lindsay Commission¹ as providing for a real need in Christian education.

Along with the development of hostel life, the Day Students were not altogether neglected. A Common Room for their use had been provided in the upper storey of the Durrant Wing, where indoor games and newspapers were provided. The supervision of their guardians and conditions of residence was made more effective, and Mr. J. C. Banerji, who had been transferred to the College staff from the High School in 1918, was released from teaching to give the greater part of his time to this side of the College life and the general management of the large hostel establishment. In January, 1916, the first Day Students' Social Gathering was held, and such gatherings have since become a regular feature in the College life. Just before the end of this period a further step was taken by the division of the Day Students into three geographical "Circles," each with its own Warden and Sub-warden. These Circles—the Taj, City, and Secundra Circles, as they were called,—form units more comparable in strength with the five Hostels, and enter their teams for inter-hostel games and other contests.

With the transfer of the College to its new home, there was at once a further development of student activities ; and these were strengthened both by the increasing number of senior students taking post-graduate courses, and still more by the larger number who, entering College in the first year classes, stayed in it throughout a course of four or six years. In August, 1913, the *Hindi Pracharini Sabha* was started, largely owing to the initiative of its first Secretary, Thakur Jugal Singh. This society not only fostered the study of the Hindi vernacular, and started a library of its own, but also started a little class for teaching the illiterate hostel servants. In

the same year the *Anjuman Taragqi-i-Urdu*, first started in 1911, was revived by Mr. J. F. Fanthome, and in 1914 it took fresh life with Mr. Rahman Baksh Kadri as Secretary. Other societies developed in connection with the various departments of teaching, and the Drew Society for Philosophy and the Wodehouse Historical Society were organized on an inter-collegiate basis.

As the Rainbow Club had lapsed after the departure of its chief promoters, a College *Union Society* was started in August, 1914, with Kedar Nath Jalota of the Old Hostel as first President, and Thakur Jugal Singh, of the same hostel, as Secretary. The new Union, as well as promoting debates and lectures, shared actively in the successful organization of a garden party and drama in connection with the College Celebrations in December of that year, and in the very successful tableaux staged in the new Hall, illustrating scenes from *Gitanjali* and *Sakuntala*, in the two following years. It was gradually placed on a carefully worked-out basis as a permanent student organization in the College.

Its second Secretary was Mr. Rahman Baksh Kadri, who was also concerned in the building up of the Common Mess; and it was fitting that he and Thakur Jugal Singh were, with Mr. Mithu Lal, the first recipients of the College Order of Merit instituted in December, 1916. They have since made distinguished use of the experience gained during College days,—Mr. Kadri having already earned the distinction of Khan Bahadur for services as a Magistrate, and Mr. Jugal Singh occupying a high position in the educational service of the Bikanir State.

The Union Society has subsequently added much to its activities. It has some share in the direction of

college athletics, and has organized an Inter-collegiate Elocutionary Contest. For some years it successfully staged an annual vernacular dramatic performance ; but difficulties of a communal character, connected with the language and subjects of the dramas, became so acute by 1925 that this item in its programme had to be abandoned. In another direction the Union has been more successful. The practice of organizing Common Dinners had been growing in the Hostels, where it was comparatively easy to organize. In the spring of 1918 the first Common Dinner of the whole College was held in the Hall, and this has become a regular annual institution at which the President of the Union usually gives a review of the activities of the year, and introduces his successor in office. To see the beautiful Hall arranged with long tables and filled with from three to four hundred students and staff, Hindu, Mohammedan, and Christian sitting together and partaking of the same food, is a stirring sight, particularly for those who know the many divisive influences in Indian life which have made such social gatherings so difficult.

Another direction in which progress is to be recorded during this period is in social service. In the year 1911 a small group of Khattri Day Students of the College, on their own initiative, opened a night school for poor boys in Maithan, the quarter of the city in which they were living. This came to the notice of Principal Durrant, who wrote in his last Report : " Ideals of social service have been inculcated steadily in our College for many years, and it was with the greatest pleasure that I found that the Khattri students have been carrying on a most

admirable night school for poor boys in our city."

We have already noticed how a class for servants became one of the activities of the *Hindi Sabha*, and in 1916 this Society offered a prize for the best essay on Social Service. The Old Boys' Association had started in 1915 a fund for helping poor students in the College with small stipends and with books. In 1917 a volunteer corps of students was organized for work in connection with the Kailash Mela, the annual religious fair held at Secundra. Again in the semi-famine conditions of the year 1919, a group of workers from the staffs of the College and School was organized by Miss Violet Latham as the St. John's Relief Corps. Between January and July of that year over Rs.4,000 worth of grain was purchased and distributed at cheap rates to the poor in the city, and in subsequent years the Corps organized a small shirt-making industry for the relief of destitute women. This later on led to the formation of the Violet Latham Memorial Hosiery School, which still flourishes in connection with the C.M.S. zenana mission.

But it was not until 1924 that Social Service was organized as one of the regular activities of the College. In that year a Social Service League was started under the leadership of a senior student, Mr. Badri Prasad Mathur; and under its auspices a regular night school was started in which College students gave teaching to children drawn mainly from the Sweeper community in the slums near the College. Considerable stimulus and guidance in this work was received from St. Stephen's College, Delhi. A visit from Mr. Colin Sharpe of Delhi enabled St. John's to profit by the experience gained there; and Mr. Maik interested himself from the start in the working of the League.

On the religious side of the College life, progress was undoubtedly checked during the pressure of the war years. But the influence of the systematic teaching was deepened as an increasing proportion of students passed on through both Intermediate and Degree courses in the College, some of them having entered from mission schools. In the years after the War the gradual recovery of a larger Christian staff led to a steady improvement in the conditions of the religious teaching. The Principal had a more systematic course of instruction worked out for the guidance of the teachers, and he also introduced the practice of preparing a special annual report on the religious life of the College for submission to the Governing Body and the Mission authorities.

In January, 1915, the visit of Bishop Pakenham Walsh to the College was used for the holding of a special mission, and since that time such occasional missions have been arranged as a means of reinforcing and bringing to a decisive point the religious teaching and influence of the College. Mr. Sherwood Eddy, the American evangelist, held missions at Agra in November, 1915, and again in the spring of 1919. After his first visit, Mr. Tubbs, the Principal of the School, wrote :

These addresses have made a profound impression. The College have now to face inquirers, while in the School I have forty boys who have signed cards (promising that they would study the Gospels with an open mind and an honest heart with a view to seeing if Christ be true or not). How I long for my big Chumney of last year ! . Since writing the above, one Hindu student at the College whose baptism was definitely arranged for yesterday afternoon, has disappeared. His wife was kidnapped by Lai people the day before, and

whether he has gone willingly or not, we cannot find out. While in the School there is great excitement as all the non-Christian boys are saying, "Six boys have become Christians." If it were anywhere but India I should not be surprised if twenty were baptized at once, but here the power of caste seems unbreakable.

Dr. Stanley Jones first visited the College in November, 1921, came again in December, 1925, and more recently; and his visits have been much appreciated. In such missions a series of public addresses is given, and the missioner is available for individual interviews or for meeting with groups during his visit. It was on one of his visits to Agra that Dr. Jones first tried his method of Round Table conference on religious experience, which he has since made well known through his writings.

The work of the Christian Union in the College was much stimulated by a joint Camp of the United Provinces and Punjab Associations at Roorkee in 1915, which was attended by Mr. Eddy and Dr. T. R. Glover; and again by the holding of the All-India Quadrennial Conference of the S.C.A. in the College buildings in December, 1916. But a more definite revival of life among the Christian students dates from the starting of their hostel life in the Red Bungalow in 1922, and was stimulated in that year by the visits of the Rev. Chandu Lal of Simla, the Rev. Mervyn Evers of the Mission of Help, and especially of the Chinese Christian leader, Mr. T. Z. Koo. It found expression at once in the starting of work among the poor Christians in the Hing-ki-Mandi district in the city, and, in the following year, by the starting of Sunday-school work in the village

of Khandhari, which has remained a special activity of the Christian Union.

Attempts were made in 1918 and again in 1920 to revive the Sunday Afternoon Lectures, which had made such a promising start before the War, and as a result of a visit of Mr. A. A. Paul in 1923 a local International Fellowship was inaugurated in Agra. But such extension work among the educated classes of Agra appeared to put too heavy a strain upon the few keen members of the College staff, whose hands were already full enough with the internal activities of the College itself. They have served, however, to indicate the possibilities which lie close at hand, when the Christian staff of the College can be raised to a more adequate strength.

The College Chapel came to have a place of increasing importance in the life of the Christian staff and students during these years. Daily morning services were held in it during the week, with a Celebration of Holy Communion on Thursdays; and while on Sundays staff and students would ordinarily attend the services at St. Paul's or St. John's Church, it was usual to have one or two special College Services in the Chapel during the term. There was a marked tendency towards the end of the period for non-Christian students also to attend some of these services, and special devotional services were arranged for them during Holy Week. While the small size and the beauty of the present Chapel contribute a sense of intimacy, there can be no doubt that when an adequate College Chapel can be erected it will provide for an increasing number of students and staff the opportunities of common worship.

CHAPTER XII

College and University

DURING the latter part of the period surveyed in the last chapter changes were going on in regard to educational policy in India which were momentous for the future of St. John's College. To appreciate these changes we must retrace our steps a little to the year 1917, when the Commission under the chairmanship of Sir Michael Sadler was appointed to examine the University of Calcutta. We may summarize its chief recommendations, so far as we are here concerned with them, as follows:

(a) It pronounced definitely in favour of a unitary teaching and residential type of University, as compared with the affiliating and examining type which at Calcutta, Allahabad, and elsewhere had grown up in India.

(b) It recommended the transfer of the two years' Intermediate course from the control of the University to that of a Board of Secondary Education, and the formation of Intermediate Colleges teaching up to this standard only, leaving the University to concentrate on its degree, post-graduate and research work.

(c) It recommended that Government should have less, and the teachers and public more, control and influence in the bodies directing the University.

Its monumental Report, published in 1919,

influenced higher education throughout India, and nowhere more rapidly than in the United Provinces. For the U.P. had at its head at this time a keen educationalist in Sir Harcourt Butler, and the unwieldy affiliating University of Allahabad presented an object to which the recommendations of the Report seemed directly applicable. By the winter of 1919-20 Bills were under consideration in the Provincial Legislature for a new University on the unitary model at Lucknow, and for a Board of High School and Intermediate Education for the United Provinces ; while the establishment by the Government of India of the Moslem University at Aligarh and the Hindu University at Benares removed two more college centres from the domain of the Allahabad University. Canon Davies had been appointed to the committee for drawing up the scheme for Lucknow, and his services to education found public recognition soon after by the award of the gold Kaiser-i-Hind medal in 1921. It seemed clear that the policy of Government would be to establish teaching universities at the more important centres, and to reduce the colleges at other centres to the status of Intermediate Colleges. Sir Harcourt Butler had already stated publicly his intention to establish universities at Lucknow and Allahabad, " and, later on, at Agra."

When, on April 9, 1920, Sir Harcourt Butler visited Agra and opened the new Robert Lloyd Hostel, he met with a local committee specially called to decide the basis upon which a future Agra University should be planned. The issue, as it then appeared, was between a University within which the two existing colleges should retain their status

and teaching functions, and an entirely new unitary teaching University in which the existing colleges would at most contribute residential and tutorial provision. Though this second alternative was more in line with the already declared policy of Government, in accordance with which the American Mission College at Lucknow had been excluded from participation in the new University there, the Lieutenant-Governor made it clear that the first alternative would be considered if it were supported by the colleges and public of Agra. It was such a scheme, in which the local colleges would retain a position analogous to that of the colleges in the older English Universities, which was proposed by Canon Davies. But it became clear that local leaders were suspicious of a scheme in which a mission college would clearly have great influence ; and the committee voted by thirteen votes to eight in favour of an entirely new unitary University. The Lieutenant-Governor, without committing himself further, left with a clear hint that such a decision was likely on financial grounds to postpone the creation of the University to a distant future.

To Canon Davies at the time the decision seemed to shut the door against the policy for which he had been working, and to suggest that St. John's might well consider the alternative of immediate reorganization as an Intermediate College. At Cawnpore the S.P.G. was actually led to take such a step in the case of Christ Church College ; and at Agra the fact that about this same time there seemed a likelihood that Government would require the old site of the school in the city for extensions of their hospital, added a further reason in favour of reorganization of School

and College. Writing home on April 10, 1920, the Principal said :

It having been decided that St. John's College cannot look forward to a place in an Agra University, it is clear that it should become an Intermediate College, and I have no hesitation in saying that it might well become the best Intermediate College in the University. If it were possible I should elect to make the necessary changes and start as an Intermediate College at latest in July, 1921.

Had it proved possible to carry through the educational reforms consistently, and to make the new Intermediate Colleges what the Calcutta Commission intended them to become, it might still be questioned whether such a policy might not have proved to be in the best interests of Christian education, whether at Cawnpore or Agra. But it must be remembered that by this time the new political reforms were placing Education in the rank of a Transferred Subject, in the control of a Minister responsible to the Provincial Legislature ; and even a Sir Harcourt Butler could not carry out his education policy to its logical conclusions. Subsequent history leads us to be thankful that decisions at Agra were not hastily arrived at on this occasion.

The first compromise in policy was made in the reconstruction of the Allahabad University, which was now taken in hand. So far as Allahabad was concerned, the University was reorganized on the unitary teaching model, but it was to retain an External Side for the control and examining of the remaining Associated Colleges in the U.P. and Rajputana. In Allahabad the University was at once to be separated completely from Intermediate educa-

tion, which would be carried on in separate Intermediate Colleges ; but in other centres the Associated Colleges were allowed to retain their Intermediate classes for a period of five years. It was recognized that in their case immediate separation would be financially impracticable, and there was considerable speculation as to what would happen at the expiry of this five-year transition period. The Allahabad University Act also contained a special provision for a transitional arrangement by which colleges in centres likely to achieve separate University status might, as University Colleges, assume a measure of independence and local control in their teaching.

This provision appeared to give a basis on which the scheme for co-operation between the two colleges at Agra in achieving University status might be restarted. Canon Davies, who was in England in 1921, also came to feel that, in view of the attitude which the C.M.S. was prepared to take on the question of compulsory religious instruction,¹ a great part of the local opposition to the participation of St. John's in the scheme might be removed. In October of that year he wrote a letter to *The Leader*, the Indian-edited Allahabad paper, in which he set out very clearly the conditions on which St. John's, as a mission college, might make its contribution in an Agra University. Mr. T. Cuthbertson Jones, the Principal of Agra College, who had been in England at the time of Sir Harcourt Butler's visit, was personally inclined to support the scheme ; and during the winter months the possibility of local co-operation in forming a University College was being explored by the two Colleges. By August, 1922, this

¹ Cf. p. 138.

local movement was reinforced by the arrival in Agra as Commissioner of Mr. R. L. H. Clarke. The scheme for a local University College was accepted by a committee under his chairmanship, and by November formal application had been made to the new Council of Associated Colleges of the Allahabad University. This body accepted the scheme as workable under the Act.

In the meantime the situation in the Provinces was further changing. There was a growing dissatisfaction, both at Allahabad and elsewhere, with the dual constitution of the "reformed" University; there was growing apprehension as to what was to happen to the Associated Colleges at the end of the five-year period; and there was also considerable jealousy among the other colleges aroused by a scheme which appeared to give the two Agra colleges a position of special privilege and power. The result was another somewhat kaleidoscopic change in the fortunes of the Agra University.

The University College scheme was dropped, and by the beginning of 1923 a new proposal held the field, *viz.*, that Agra should become the University centre for the Associated Colleges, leaving Allahabad to continue as a purely local and unitary University. A resolution in favour of this was proposed by Mr. T. C. Jones, and passed by the Council of Associated Colleges at its meeting in November, 1923. In the following January, Agra College was celebrating its centenary, and was visited by the Viceroy and Lady Reading. A meeting held in connection with the celebrations on January 27, attended by the distinguished Old Boy of Agra College, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, afforded an opportunity for the Old Boys of

that College and the public leaders of Agra to endorse the scheme for an affiliating University at Agra. Two days later a resolution to the same effect, proposed by Dr. Zia-uddin Ahmad and accepted by the Minister of Education, was passed in the Legislative Council at Lucknow. A committee was appointed by Government, "To recommend the provisions to be incorporated in a Bill to establish at Agra a university which should affiliate the external colleges in the United Provinces at present associated with the University of Allahabad." Canon Davies, who had taken short furlough to England in the spring of this year, returned in time to attend the final meetings of this Committee in June. Mr. Cuthbertson Jones, who had worked whole-heartedly in co-operation with Canon Davies for the new University, did not live to see it come into being.¹

The Bill, as drafted by this committee, was referred for consideration to the Allahabad University and to the Viceroy, and was finally passed on August 6, 1926, Canon Davies having been nominated as a member of the Legislative Council during its passage. In the spring of 1927 Mr. K. P. Kichlu was appointed Special Officer with the task of bringing the new University machinery into operation, and in November, 1928, the Agra University held its first Convocation in the hall of St. John's College.

Under this Agra University Act, St. John's and the Agra College were placed at the centre of an affiliating University embracing fourteen colleges in the United Provinces and Rajputana, among which were included St. Andrew's College, Gorakhpur, the S.P.G. College at Cawnpore (which had resumed its

¹ He died at Agra on March 25, 1925.

university teaching), and the Christian College, Indore. Agra held a monopoly in respect of post-graduate Science teaching, and a very strong position in the faculties of Arts, Commerce, and Law ; and teachers and Old Boys of St. John's were, from the first, strongly represented on the University bodies. The colleges were allowed to retain their Intermediate classes, and in teaching and internal management their position was not materially changed.

It was fitting, in view of the way in which the new University had come into being, that its first Convocation should be held in the great Hall of St. John's College ; it was fitting that Canon Davies should be chosen unanimously to be its first Vice-Chancellor, the other two candidates for the office, whose names were by rule proposed to the Senate, having gracefully withdrawn in his favour ; it was fitting that Canon Davies should be the recipient of the first Degree awarded by the new University—the honorary degree of D.Litt., and that he should be invited to deliver the first Convocation address ; for it was widely recognized how largely the new University was indebted, in respect of the confidence and goodwill of Government and the public, to his leadership and personality.

The Convocation was held on November 24, 1928, the Governor of the Province, Sir Malcolm Hailey, presiding as Chancellor. The body of the Hall was filled with the graduates from the various colleges who were to receive degrees, sitting by colleges in the order of seniority of their foundation. Banners bearing the names and colours of the fourteen colleges hung around on the great pillars of the Hall, and the new University Arms and the colours of its

hoods were hung above the dais. The galleries were filled with distinguished visitors, and the students of the local colleges, for whom there was no room in the Hall, watched what they could of the proceedings from the playing-field. After the ceremony there was a tea-party for the Governor and other guests in the Haileybury quadrangle, and in the evening the Old Boys held a dinner in the Common Mess Hall, and co-operated with the Union Society in an entertainment in the College Hall. It was a proud day for St. John's, and one to be long remembered in its annals.

Canon Davies formally resigned the Principalship of the College at the end of December, 1928, and returned to England in the following spring to take up the responsible work to which he had been called in connection with the Missionary Council of the Church Assembly. During these last years, in addition to his work in the College and University, he had been giving of his best, as Secretary of the C.M.S. Committee of Reference in India, to the many problems connected with the incorporation of the missionary work of the C.M.S. throughout the country in the developing diocesan organizations. This work had involved much travelling and correspondence, and a good deal of responsibility in the College had to be delegated to the Vice-Principal.

In the new University the personality of the first Vice-Chancellor and the confidence he inspired, enabled the new organization to function from the first with unexpected smoothness and efficiency; and within the short period of his office a high standard was set in the conduct of University business, in the inspecting work of the University, and in the control and standards of its examinations.

The close of his fifteen years' principalship brought to Canon Davies a very genuine expression of the appreciation in which his services were held. The staff, the Union Society, the Hostels and the Old Boys vied with one another in their farewell gatherings ; for there was no side of the College in which the creative touch and affectionate care of the Principal had not left their mark.

"The world may know you," the Union Society said, "as the noted Vice-Chancellor, the statesman of education, . . . but to us your name will always conjure up the wise friend and trusted Principal whom we have come to love.

. . . We never can forget your work and life among us, for every moment the fruits of them are visibly before our eyes. The grace and beauty of these buildings are largely due to your generosity and inspiration, and it must have been a satisfaction to you to see in the opening of the Physics Block the completion of the splendid series of buildings, all of which have come into being under your own supervision. Your ideals for the College and your hopes have found fitting expression in these College and Hostel buildings, in which every detail of design reflects your loving care and your devotion to the Beautiful and the True. College and Hostels together form a fitting frame, wherein that ideal which you outlined in your Convocation address, of a fellowship of professors and students, living together on terms of closest intimacy and friendship, may be progressively realized. We hope we may be worthy of our heritage."

But this was not to be the end of Canon Davies's contribution to the College and to the cause of mission education in India ; for it was largely due to his vision of the needs and possibilities of the Christian colleges that the Lindsay Commission came to be appointed. Its recommendations¹ may well mark a new epoch and form the starting-point of a future second volume of this history of St. John's College. This chapter may well close with an account of its initiation and a summary of its recommendations as they relate to the College.

We return, then, for a moment to the year 1925, when the Principal, in view of the new situation and the new opportunities and responsibilities which an Agra University would place upon the College, sought the best advice he could obtain in India. He invited the following to form with himself a Commission to survey the resources of the College and to make recommendations for its future development : Dr. J. C. Weir, B.A., LL.D., Dean of the Faculty of Law, Allahabad University (Chairman) ; the Rev. John McKenzie, M.A., Principal, Wilson College, Bombay ; A. R. Burnett-Hurst, Esq., M.A., Professor of Statistics, Allahabad University ; P. Carter-Speers, Esq., B.Sc., Head of the Department of Chemistry, Forman Christian College, Lahore.

This Commission met on October 27 and 28, 1925, and its recommendations were forwarded to the C.M.S. Parent Committee by the Governing Body in the following spring. Serious consideration had been given to the question of concentrating the resources

¹ Report of the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India Oxford University Press, London : Humphrey Milford 2s 6d Price in India, Rs 2 8. Obtainable National Christian Council, Nelson Square, Nagpur.

of the College by giving up either the Commerce or the Science faculties ; but it was recommended that the teaching of Economics and Commerce should be retained and strengthened, and that, if possible, the College should develop a special course in Social Science. "It would seem to be on this side," the Principal wrote, "that the College has the best chance of making a definite contribution, such as a Christian college should surely aim at, to the welfare of the community." It further recommended that in Science, in view of the growing expense of higher teaching and the possibility of co-operation with Agra College, the post-graduate teaching should be restricted to Chemistry and Zoology. The Commission also considered the relation of the College to the Mission and the possibility of securing more adequate support in respect of staff ; and it advised the Principal to take short furlough in the spring of 1926 in order to recruit additional staff. Its recommendations were carefully considered by the India Committee of the C.M.S., which passed the following Recommendation on May 18, 1926 :

That the Committee receive the Report of the St. John's College, Agra, Commission, held 27 and 28 October, 1925, and cordially endorsed by the Allahabad Corresponding Committee of 19 March, 1926, and adopt it in general principle. During the last twenty years not less than Rs.8,00,000 have been raised and expended upon the class-rooms, laboratories, hostels, and missionaries' bungalows of this College, and only a small proportion of this sum has been provided through direct C.M.S. channels. The Committee place on record the tremendous debt which the College owes to the initiative, foresight, statesmanship, and munificent liberality of its second founder, Canon Davies, during the past eighteen years of his close connection with it.

They recognize that among their North India colleges, St. John's College, which is seriously hampered at present by inadequate income, has the primary claim upon their support, and they reaffirm their earnest intention to continue that support to the utmost of their ability. They look forward hopefully to the day when such a College as St. John's, Agra, will contain a Theological Faculty in addition to its other Faculties, and will thus make a fresh and invaluable contribution to the life and strength of the Indian Church of their Provinces.

The Recommendation proceeds to endorse some of the detailed recommendations of the Commission, and then closes as follows :

The Committee recognize that a Christian College of this dimension, forming an important constituent part of an Indian University, must look for guidance and support rather to some specially constituted body of experts in Christian University education than to the ordinary executive committee of a missionary society. This principle, however, applies in greater or less degree to all missionary institutions which reach up to the University standard. They therefore instruct their Secretaries to explore the possibilities of the formation of an Advisory Committee for University Colleges in the mission field in connexion with the Missionary Council of the Church Assembly, which would make itself generally responsible for advice and recruitment for such institutions, it being understood that the recruitment of missionary members of the staff will be subject to the approval of the Society concerned.

But it was not only the members of the C.M.S. Committee who were coming to realize that larger problems were involved in missionary higher education in a changing India than could be dealt with in the ordinary routine of a missionary society's executive. The missionaries in colleges in various parts of India were sharing in a growing sense of the need of a

thorough review and study of the conditions. At a time when every missionary society was feeling the difficulty of maintaining the cost of its work in the field, mission colleges were faced with increasing demands for expenditure and an increasing pressure of routine upon their very limited Christian staffs. Yet when neighbouring colleges were maintained by different societies, each cherishing its own traditions, any concentration of work or co-ordination of policy in the field was beset with obvious difficulties.

It was such considerations which brought together at Agra, at the end of January, 1929, a representative Conference of the principals of mission colleges from all parts of India. Canon Davies was still in India and able to attend, and his successor in the College, the Rev. W. E. S. Holland, had just arrived in Agra and was able to contribute his wide experience of Indian education in Allahabad, Calcutta and Travancore. Dr. Hogg, of the Madras Christian College, was able to speak of the large scheme of reconstruction already under consideration in his area ; and the Conference had the advantage of the presence and sage counsel of Dr. John R. Mott.

Agra gave its visitors its coldest winter reception, and the delegates were glad enough to sit out in the sunshine in front of the College buildings. Many problems of mission education were discussed, but undoubtedly the resolution of profoundest importance was that in which this Agra Conference invited the Home Boards of the various societies represented to appoint a Commission which should survey the whole field of Christian college education in India and prepare a scheme for co-ordination in work and policy. This resolution was endorsed by the Pro-

vincial and National Christian Councils in India, and accepted by the societies in England and America ; with the result that the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India was constituted by the International Missionary Council at its meeting at Williamstown, Massachusetts, in July, 1929. The Master of Balliol, Dr. A. D. Lindsay, was Chairman. Canon Davies was chosen as one of the two British representatives on the Commission, and St. John's was able to welcome him back when, with the other members of the Commission, he visited Agra in February, 1931. During this visit the Commission met representatives of the mission colleges of the United Provinces in conference, and discussed with them the general plan which was already taking shape in their minds. The occasion was taken for the staff of the College, and particularly its Christian members, to review critically the whole situation, and in this task it received the greatest stimulus from the presence of Dr. Lindsay, and the other members of the Commission.

The College as they saw it, at the close of this period, was carried on in a well-planned and beautiful set of buildings,—the scheme being complete save for the College Chapel,—with spacious playing-fields, and equipment in all departments comparing very favourably with anything to be found in India. Of its 400 students, 212 were reading in the Intermediate classes, 129 in degree classes and 59 in post-graduate courses. Out of these, 254 students were Hindus, 104 Moslems, 36 Indian Christians and 6 European and Anglo-Indian. There had been a marked increase in the numbers both of Christian and of Mohammedan students, and of their

attainments in the College. About 180 of these students were living in the five College Hostels, the others having homes and recognized guardians in Agra. The College had for some time been attracting occasional girl students, and a new scheme for a special hostel for their accommodation in connection with the Queen Victoria High School for Girls had been approved by the Society and was awaiting provision of an expected grant from Government.

The staff had increased to a total of forty-two, and of these twenty were Christian. The C.M.S. provided three out of its promised cadre of five missionaries, there were two Englishmen on special agreement with the College and two more on Short Service; while there had been a marked increase in the number of qualified Indian Christians on the staff. Of the non-Christian members, twelve were Old Boys of St. John's or of other mission colleges; and of them the Rev. W. E. S. Holland could write: "The tradition of the College that has most impressed me is the very remarkable loyalty to the College of the senior Hindu members of the staff. Though Hindu, they regard this mission college as their own, and, in a recent attack upon the College on religious grounds, worked for the College with a zeal unsurpassed by any of the Christian staff."

Twelve of the Christian members of the staff were living as wardens or sub-wardens of the hostels in close association with the students in residence and with unique opportunities for personal friendship and influence. Meetings of the Christian staff were being held on Sundays for consideration of the religious policy and activities of the College, while the Academic Council met fortnightly and practically the

whole staff joined in the common dinners, which had become an institution. Day by day College opened with an assembly of all the students and staff in Hall for opening prayers, immediately after which the Bible classes would be held ; and in the evening the warden and students in each hostel assembled in their Common Room for Roll Call and Evening Prayers. Enough has been said already of the varied activities of College life. Responsibilities in its many-sided activities had been delegated very widely to members of the staff, as well as to student leaders ; and yet, though the staff was large compared with most Indian colleges, the routine of teaching and the support of the College life placed no small burden on those who shared in it.

In many ways the College, in its religious and social life, had gone some way to secure the conditions recommended by the Commission, and the Commission recognized its strength in tradition and resources. They saw its special lines of service to lie .

- (a) In continuing to provide an education for Christian students, especially those of the Anglican Church and Anglo-Indians.
- (b) ²In providing facilities for Christian students from other colleges to undertake post-graduate work, especially in Science.
- (c) In opening its classes to women students, especially Hindu and Mohammedan women, on co-educational lines.

But they saw here, as elsewhere, the need of a closer relation of college teaching and life to the problems and needs of the country ; and they have given a new vision of college teaching as directed not merely to the passing of examinations and the securing of positions in life, but to the service of the

Christian Church and of the country. Of the detailed application to St. John's College of the recommendations of the Lindsay Commission future history will have to give account ; but those who have thus far followed the eventful history of this College will have seen it as an instrument used already for great tasks and with a promise of still greater achievement and service.

APPENDIX A

Principals and Vice-Principals of St. John's College

PRINCIPALS

1. **Thomas Valpy French, D.D.** 1850 to 1859

Born 1825. Entered Rugby School, 1839. Scholar and Fellow of University College, Oxford. 1st Class, Classical Finals, 1846. Chancellor's Prize for Latin Essay, 1848. Appointed Principal, April, 1850. Reached Agra, Feb., 1851. Invalided to England, 1859. Derajat Mission, 1861. St. John's Divinity College, Lahore, 1868. Consecrated first Bishop of Lahore, 1877; resigned, 1887. Returned to the East and died at Muscat, May 14, 1891.

2. **Henry William Shackell, M.A.** 1859 to 1861

Born 1834. Student and Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge. 1st Class Theological and 2nd Class Classical Tripos, and 10th Wrangler, Cambridge. Reached Agra, 1858. Transferred to evangelistic mission work in 1861. Retired from India in 1873. Died at Bournemouth, 1882.

3. **John Barton, M.A.** 1861 to 1863

Born 1836. Student of Christ's College, Cambridge. Honours in Mathematical and Natural Science Tripos, 1859. Reached Calcutta, December, 1860, and Agra, February 25, 1861. Transferred to Amritsar, May, 1863. First Principal, Cathedral Mission College, Calcutta, 1865. C.M.S. Secretary for the Madras Mission and Fellow, Madras University, 1871. Vicar of Holy Trinity, Cambridge, 1876-93. Secretary of C.M.S., 1900. Died, November 20, 1908.

4. **Charles Ellard Vines, M.A.** 1863 to 1878
 Born 1839. Student of Trinity College, Cambridge. Honours in Mathematics, 1862. Appointed Principal, February, 1863. Invalided to England, 1871; returned in March, 1875. Invalided again to England, May, 1879, and died at Ramsgate, November 6, 1879.
5. **James Abbott Lloyd, M.A.** 1878 to 1880
 Born 1850. Student of St. John's College, Cambridge. Ordained, 1874. Appointed to Agra, 1876; Vice-Principal, 1877 to 1878. Returned to England, 1881. Vicar of St. Giles's, Norwich, 1893. Died at Bournemouth, 1932.
6. **Robert John Bell, M.R.C.P.** 1880 to 1883
 Trained teacher, Cheltenham Training College. Teacher, Free School, Calcutta, 1857. Agra, 1860 Headmaster, 1862-6. Vice-Principal, 1866-71. Acting Principal, 1871-4. Professor at Cathedral Mission College, Calcutta, 1874-80. Ordained, 1879. Principal, St. John's College, 1880-3. Benares, 1883. Returned to England, 1887. Died, 1897.
7. **George Edgar Augustus Pargiter, M.A.** 1883 to 1890
 Born at Jaffna, Ceylon, 1856. Taunton Grammar School and Merton College, Oxford. Honours in Theology. Ordained, 1879. Arrived at Agra as Principal, 1883. Fellow of Allahabad University, 1890. Retired to England, 1891. Vicar of St. Paul's, Leamington, 1894. Died, March 10, 1929.
8. **John Parker Haythornthwaite, M.A.** 1890 to 1911
 Born 1863. Sedbergh School and St. John's College, Cambridge. Moral Sciences Tripos, 1883. Ordained, 1885. Organizing Secretary for C.M.S. in Southern Ireland, 1888. Appointed Principal, 1890. Fellow of Allahabad University, 1894. Retired in 1911. Vicar of King's Langley, 1916. Died, August 12, 1928.

9. Harry Bickersteth Durrant, M.A. 1911 to 1913

Born 1868. Highgate School. Scholar and Exhibitioner of Pembroke College, Cambridge. 2nd Class Classical Tripos, 1893. Ordained, 1894. C.M.S. missionary at Lucknow, 1896. Agra, 1898. Fellow of Allahabad University, 1901. Vice-Principal, 1905. Principal, 1911. Canon of Lucknow, 1912. Consecrated Bishop of Lahore, August 6, 1913. Fellow Punjab University, 1913. On visitation I.E.F., Mesopotamia, 1915 and 1918. Mentioned in despatches. Died, January 16, 1932.

10. Arthur Whitcliffe Davies, M.A., D.Litt.

1913 to 1928

Born 1878. Uppingham and University College, Oxford. Graduated (Lit. Hum.) 1902. Wycliffe Hall, 1904, and Farnham Hostel, 1907. Reached Agra, 1909. Vice-Principal, 1911. Principal, 1913. Canon of Lucknow, 1917. Kaiser-i-Hind medal, 1st class, 1921. First Vice-Chancellor of Agra University, 1927. D.Litt., Agra, *honoris causa*, 1928. Returned to England 1929 to be Overseas Educational Secretary of the Missionary Council, Church Assembly. General Secretary of the Missionary Council, Dec. 1, 1929. Hon. Canon of Bradford, 1930.

11. William Edward Sladen Holland, M.A.

1929 to date

Born 1873. Student of Magdalen College, Oxford. Graduated (Lit. Hum.), 1895. Allahabad, 1899. Founded Oxford and Cambridge Hostel (now Holland Hall). Fellow of Allahabad University, 1906. Principal of St. Paul's College, Calcutta, 1913. Fellow of Calcutta University, 1916. Kottayam and Alwaye Colleges, Travancore, 1921-7. Canon of Lucknow, 1931.

VICE-PRINCIPALS

i. Edward Craig Stuart, M.A., D.D. 1850 to 1854

C.M.S. Secretary, Calcutta, 1861-76. Bishop of Waiau, New Zealand, 1877-93; Isfahan, Persia, 1894-1911.

2. **James Leighton** 1854 to 1858
C.M.S., Islington. Amritsar, 1858-60, later New Zealand.
3. **Dormer Fynes-Clinton, M.A.** 1858 to 1860
Wadham College, Oxford. Became a chaplain on the Indian establishment.
4. **Thomas Joseph Gaster** 1860 to 1861
(For short periods only.)
5. **Henry William Shackell, M.A.** 1863 to 1865
(Acting; *vide* under Principals.)
6. **Robert John Bell, M.R.C.P.** 1866 to 1871
(*Vide* under Principals.)
7. **Frederick Thomas Cole** 1872 to 1873
C.M.S., Islington. Transferred to Santal Mission.
8. **Thomas Robinson Hodgson** 1875 to 1877
C.M.S., Islington. Later at Cathedral Mission College, Calcutta; and for B. and F. Bible Society in Persia and Asia Minor.
9. **James Abbott Lloyd, M.A.** 1877 to 1878
(*Vide* under Principals.)
10. **Paulus Martinus Zenker** 1878 to 1880
Transferred from the district mission work.
11. **Henry Lewis** 1881 to 1884
C.M.S., Islington. Later at Secundra and Lucknow. Rector of Bermondsey.
12. **Alfred Elliott Bowlby** 1884 to 1886
C.M.S., Islington. Later at St. Paul's Divinity School, Allahabad, and at Meerut and Aligarh.
13. **Thomas Frederic Robathan** 1886 to 1894
C.M.S., Islington. St. Andrew's College, Gorakhpur, 1895.
14. **John Mabletoft Paterson, M.A.** 1895 to 1898
Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Gorakhpur, 1893. Transferred to Bharatpur, 1898.

15. **Herbert William Vincent Birney** 1898 to 1905
C.M.S., Islington. Appointed to Lucknow, 1893. Transferred to Jai Narain's, Benares, 1905.
16. **Harry Bickersteth Durrant, M.A.** 1905 to 1911
(*Vide* under Principals.)
17. **Arthur Whitcliffe Davies, M.A., D.Litt.**
1911 to 1913
(*Vide* under Principals.)
18. **Frank Garfield Hodder Williams, M.B., B.S.**
1913 to 1914
Agra, 1910. Principal of St. Andrew's College, Gorakhpur, 1914. Secretary, Missionary Council, England, 1925-29. Dean of Llandaff, 1929. Dean of Manchester from 1931.
19. **Robert Howard Lloyd, M.A.** 1914 to 1918
Formerly Fellow and Dean, Trinity College, Oxford.
Agra, 1912. Later Vicar of Rotherfield Greys, Henley.
20. **Louis Steele, F.I.A.** 1918 to 1923
Formerly Acting Actuary to Alliance Assurance Co.
Reached Agra, 1906. Returned to England, 1925, to be Financial Secretary to C.M.S.
21. **Thomas Donald Sully, M.A.** 1923 to date
Wadham College, Oxford. Reached Agra on Short Service, 1912.

APPENDIX B

The Haileybury Mission

THE old College of Haileybury in Hertfordshire was built and maintained by the East India Company for the training of its servants, and there were thus very many of its Old Boys among those civil and military officers in Agra in 1850 who were so largely responsible for the founding of St. John's College. The new Haileybury College which, with the passing of the old Company, took over its buildings and became one of the great Public Schools of England, has continued a special connection with India since the year 1873 through its link with St. John's.

The formation of this link was the work of the Rev. E. H. Bradby, D.D., who was Master of Haileybury at that time. He had for some time been anxious to start some mission which the boys and Old Boys of Haileybury could support, and the keen missionary interest of the Rev. F. J. Hall, who had joined the staff of the College in 1869, directed his thoughts to the support of foreign missionary work. It was natural that India should become the special field for this interest, and in January, 1873, Dr. Bradby sent out an appeal in which he wrote :

It is proposed to raise a sum by annual subscription among the friends of Haileybury, to be spent in the employment of a master in one of the C.M.S. Schools in India, who shall be called the Haileybury master.

By this means a name so long and so deservedly honoured in the East will be directly associated, in however humble a way, with missionary work, and a centre of interest in that work will be furnished for all connected with Haileybury, which may prove the beginning of many great blessings.

The project has been taken up warmly by some members of the School, and of course it is to the School, and those connected with it, that we must turn for our main support; but we venture to hope that Members of the Old East India College may look not unkindly on this effort of a younger generation, and join their names with ours in what we hope is a good work in honour of the old place and name.

Several old Indians who have been applied to personally have given kind promise of assistance, and we are honoured by the sanction and support of Lord Lawrence.

The Rev. F. J. Hall became the first Secretary of the Haileybury Mission Fund, and continued as such until the year 1882, when he retired from the school. Among the early subscribers were Lord Lawrence and Sir Bartle Frere, and the scheme was keenly taken up and has been continued to the present day. As Mr. Hall says in a letter written to Principal Haythornthwaite in 1927: "Among the many good works which Dr. Bradby did, few were better than his being the founder of the Haileybury Mission Fund."

St. John's College, Agra, was chosen as the special object of the mission, and an annual sum of £150 has been contributed with unfailing regularity since the year 1874.

According to the original intention this annual grant was mainly used as a contribution to the salary of a "Haileybury Lecturer" on the College staff, who should be specially responsible for a course of lectures of a religious and apologetic character. The

first recorded Haileybury Lectures were delivered in 1876 by the Rev. Madho Ram, one of Bishop French's converts in the College ; but from 1878 until 1910 the position of Haileybury Lecturer was held by Mr. S. G. Thomas, the Headmaster. With extraordinary versatility and scholarship he was able to produce an interesting syllabus of Christian doctrine and Comparative Religion year after year. These lectures were given at the College assembly on Saturday mornings and were at first delivered in Urdu, but, as time went on, in English.

When, however, College and School were placed under separate management in 1910, Mr. Thomas, as Headmaster of the School, resigned his position as Haileybury Lecturer, and a new scheme for the use of the fund was worked out between the Principal and the Rev. L. S. Milford. For a time the annual grant was divided between College and School, but from 1920, as it seemed that the link would be more effective if it were confined to one institution, the whole grant has been given to the College, and the School has been compensated by the transfer of an equivalent portion of the grant received by the College from the C.M.S.

At the same time, with the increase of the Christian staff, it has been found better to distribute the giving of the Saturday Haileybury Lectures among the staff and occasional visitors, so that there is now no special Haileybury Lecturer paid out of the grant. Instead of this, since 1920 the aim has been to use the grant towards the expenses of a Short Service man, who should be, whenever possible, warden or sub-warden of the hostel which bears the name of Haileybury House. In 1924 C. L. H. Sumner, the first Old Haileyburian member of the St. John's

staff, came out on Short Service and became sub-warden of Haileybury House. Another Old Haileyburian, E. W. Edmonds, held the same post in 1929-30.

The name Haileybury House was given to the New Hindu Hostel from the year 1911 when the Hostel ceased to be confined to Hindu students; and this House in the College gives a further expression to the link between the two institutions. Photographs of Haileybury College were kindly supplied in 1913 and adorn the Common Room of the Hostel, and in 1919 a marble tablet was set up over the entrance to the Common Room bearing the following inscription :

This Hostel is named after
Haileybury College,
founded originally for the training of Indian Civilians,
and now
one of the great English Public Schools,
the masters and boys of which
have regularly contributed to the support of
St. John's College
since the year 1874.

This tablet was unveiled by an Old Haileyburian, Capt. R. A. Macausland, stationed in Agra.

In addition to the regular annual grant, the Haileybury Mission Fund has also contributed liberally to the various building funds of the College from time to time. In 1924, to mark the jubilee of the connection, it was decided to devote an offertory in the Haileybury College Chapel annually to the foundation of a scholarship in St. John's College to be held by a Christian student. The first Haileybury Scholar was Victor Bobb (1924-6), a nephew of the famous College athlete, Mr. S. W. Bobb; and the

second, in 1927, was Manzur Husain Ansari, a convert who is now an ordained minister in the Lucknow Diocese. An annual subscription to provide a further scholarship has been received from V. F. Beckh, Esq. (O.H.), in memory of his son, Lieut. R. H. Beckh, an Old Haileyburian killed in the war. To commemorate the long and devoted service, as Secretary of the Fund, of the Rev. L. S. Milford, a sum of £80 belonging to the Fund was set aside by Mr. Dewe, with the intention that the interest should be given as a "Milford Book Fund" to assist in building up the library at Agra.

The link between the two Colleges has been strengthened by many personal connections. Bishop French had a son educated at Haileybury, and Principal Haythornthwaite's son was Head of the School at Haileybury in 1913. Many Old Haileyburians have been welcomed as visitors in Agra, particularly in the years of the War, and members of the Agra staff have often been welcomed at Haileybury when on furlough. The Rev. T. R. Milford, son of an Old Haileyburian and nephew of the second Secretary of the Fund, has been on the staff of St. John's College for some years.

All honour and gratitude is due to the succession of Honorary Secretaries of the Haileybury Mission Fund, who have made the link mean so much to successive generations in both institutions, a tradition which cannot easily be broken and which may have much to give in the years to come. A list of these secretaries is added :

- | | |
|------------------------------|---------------|
| 1. The Rev. F. J. Hall .. | 1874 to 1882 |
| 2. The Rev. L. S. Milford .. | 1882 to 1919 |
| 3. The Rev. T. Dewe .. | 1919 to 1923 |
| 4. The Rev. A. J. Bower .. | 1923 to date. |

APPENDIX C

Figures for Attendance

IN the first period of growth we find the following figures :

| <i>Year</i> | <i>Christians</i> | <i>Moslems</i> | <i>Hindus</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|-------------|-------------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 1855 | 20 | 20 | 210 | 250 |
| 1860 | 39 | 55 | 231 | 325 |
| 1863 | 39 | 42 | 113 | 194 (Secession) |
| 1866 | 47 | 92 | 243 | 382 |

The numbers remained more or less at this level until the beginning of Principal Haythornthwaite's period, when we find :

| <i>Year</i> | <i>College</i> | <i>School</i> | <i>Branch Schools</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|-------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| 1890 | 29 | 345 | 110 | 484 |
| 1899 | 105 | 380 | 230 | 715 |
| 1909 | 260 | 830 | 450 | 1,540 |

After the separation of the School and the transfer to the new buildings, the numbers in the College steadily rose. In 1916 there were 290 in all, of whom thirteen were Christian and thirty-eight Mohammedan. By 1925 the total had reached 371, and by the end of the period, 400.

Out of the 400 some 40 are Christian and 120 Mohammedan; about 200 are in residence in the Hostels; about 250 are reading in Intermediate Classes; 110 are reading in Degree Classes; 40 are reading in Post-graduate Classes.

APPENDIX D

College Income

| | | | |
|---------|--------------------------------------|------------------|-------|
| In 1859 | the annual income from donations was | Rs.6,660 | |
| | from fees | 675 | |
| | Government Grant, from this year | 4,800 | |
| In 1866 | the annual income from donations | 11,825 | |
| | from fees | 2,219 | |
| | Government Grant, to the School | 4,800 | |
| | College Department | 3,000 | |
| In 1898 | C.M.S. grants | Rs.6,114 | |
| | Haileybury | 2,857 | |
| | Donations | 497 | |
| | | — | |
| | | 9,468 | |
| | Fee income | | |
| | | 8,044 | |
| | Government Grants to the School | ... 4,800 | |
| | | for laboratories | 1,000 |
| In 1912 | C.M.S. grants | Rs.10,275 | |
| | Haileybury | 1,394 | |
| | | — | |
| | | 11,669 | |
| | Fee income | | |
| | | 20,030 | |
| | Government Grant, ordinary | ... 4,800 | |
| | Commerce Department | ... 720 | |
| In 1930 | C.M.S. grants | Rs.13,500 | |
| | Haileybury | 2,100 | |
| | Endowment | 15,000 | |
| | | — | |
| | | 30,600 | |
| | Fee income | College | |
| | | 40,000 | |
| | | Hostels | |
| | | 10,000 | |
| | Government Grant | | |
| | | 77,000 | |
| | (Approximate figures) | | |

APPENDIX E

Accounts of the New Buildings

RECEIPTS :

| | | | |
|---|-----|-----|-------------|
| Government grants ... | ... | ... | Rs.2,45,670 |
| Collections and Donations ... | ... | ... | 6,09,813 |
| Part proceeds of sale of the Oxford and Cambridge Hostel | ... | ... | 51,935 |
| Pan-Anglican Fund ... | ... | ... | 20,000 |
| Interest, sales, etc. ... | ... | ... | 13,562 |
| | | | <hr/> |
| | | | Rs.9,40,980 |
| | | | <hr/> |

EXPENDITURE :

| | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----|-------------------|
| Arts College building and furniture | ... | Rs.3,64,506 |
| Science Labs. and equipment | ... | 2,32,841 |
| Hostels | ... | 2,97,274 |
| Staff Bungalows | ... | 46,359 |
| | | <hr/> |
| | | Rs.9,40,980 |
| | | <i>or £70,573</i> |
| | | <hr/> |

APPENDIX F

Syllabus of Study formulated by Principal French

" We propose that our future course should consist, as nearly as possible in each year, of the following subjects :

- I. The History of the Old and New Testaments, largely illustrated from contemporary profane Historians.
- II. Either Greek or Roman History with more particular reference to the Roman Empire, and the Empire of Alexander.
- III. A work on either the History of Austria, France, England, the latter especially, but of necessity having reference to one of the first class States of Europe, during some of its most eventful periods.
- IV. A portion of Indian History.
- V. A work on Logic, Mental Philosophy, or Metaphysics
- VI. Geography, with special reference to physical features of the countries.
- VII. Two subjects in Natural Philosophy : one on the principles of Physics or Chemistry, and the other, some one of the Sciences which illustrate the former, as Astronomy, Zoology, etc.
- VIII. An English standard poet, with some idea of his position and rank among the English poets, and the characteristics of the literature of his age.
- IX. A good portion of some work, either on Law, or Political Economy.
- X. Geometry.
- XI. Algebra.
- XII. Arithmetic."

[A comprehensive and well-divided syllabus, as modern Indian educationalists would probably allow. The only

omission is " Indian Classical Languages," which we know were not neglected.]

1930 Curriculum, for purposes of comparison

1. INTERMEDIATE COURSE. (Two years.)

Arts : English (including the study of standard prose and poetry, composition and translation from a vernacular), and any three subjects out of the following :

History, Economics, Logic, Geography, Mathematics, Persian, Hindi, Urdu.

Science : English, Physics, Chemistry, and either Mathematics or Biology.

Commerce : English, Book-keeping and Accountancy, Business Methods and Correspondence, Economics, and Geography,

and one of the following :

Shorthand and Typewriting, Banking, Industrial Organisation, or Mathematics.

2. DEGREE COURSE (Two years.)

B.A. : English (Language and Literature), and two subjects out of the following :

History, Economics, Philosophy, Mathematics, Persian, Hindi, and Urdu.

B.Sc. : English (optional), and

either Chemistry, Physics and Mathematics ; or Chemistry, Physics, and Biology.

B.Com. : Covering Economics, Geography, and Accountancy and Business Methods.

3. POST-GRADUATE COURSES. (Two years.)

M.A., in one of the following subjects: English, History, Philosophy, Economics, Mathematics, Persian.

M.Sc., in one of the following subjects : Mathematics, Chemistry, and Zoology.

N.B.—Sanskrit can be taken throughout by arrangement with Agra College , and, with certain restrictions, Law can be taken at Agra College in combination with the post-graduate courses.

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